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PART I.—VOL. III.



THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

JULIUS CÆSAR. CORIOLANUS.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

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THE MERRY WIVES OF
WINDSOR.

THE first sketch of this Drama, first completely printed in the folio of 1623, will be included in Part II.

The tale of Nerino of Portugal seems to be founded on the early Latin *fabliau*, printed by Mr Wright ("Latin Stories," p. 7), "De filio regis qui nunquam viderat mulieres." The character of Miranda in the "Tempest" is a sort of counterpart of this.

The notice which Ligon inserts respecting Falstaff and the Shakespearian music in his "History of Barbadoes," folio, 1657, is more immediately connected with the "Second Part of Henry IV." Douce refers to it, but it seems to have been overlooked by Dr Ingleby. Perhaps it hardly fell within his plan.



Stories Resembling the Plot of the Merry Wives.

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1. *THE STORY OF FILENIO SISTERNA.*

[From "Le tredici piacevoli notti del s. Gio. Francesco Straparola," 8vo, Vineg., 1569, vol. i. fol. 47. The points of resemblance in this tale with the plot of the "Merry Wives of Windsor" are not many, chiefly consisting in the plurality of loves, and the ladies communicating to each other the addresses of the same gallant.—*Halliwel.*]

IO non avrei mai creduto valorose donne, ne pur imaginato, che la Signora mi havesse dato carico di dover favoleggiare, e massimamente toccando la volta alla Sig. Fiordiana avenutale per sorte. Ma poscia che a sua altezza così piace et è di contentamento di tutti, io mi sforzerò di raccontare cosa che vi sia di sodisfacimento, et se per avventura il mio ragionare (che Iddio non voglia) vi fosse noioso, o che passasse di honestà il termine, mi havereste per iscusato, et incolparete la Signora Fiordiana, la quale di tal cosa n'è stata cagione. In Bologna nobilissima città di Lombardia, madre de gli studi, et accomodata di tutte le cose, che si convengono, ritrovavasi uno scolare gentil'huomo Cretense, il cui nome era Filenio Sisterna, giovane leggiadro, et amorevole.

Avenne, che in Bologna si fece una bella et magnifica festa, alla quale furono invitate molte donne della città, e delle piu belle, e vi concorsero molti gentil'huomini Bolognesi, et scolari, tra'quali vi era Filenio. Costui (si come è usanza de'giovani) vagheggiando hora l'una et hora l'altra donna, e tutte molto piacendogli, dispose al tutto carolar con una d'esse. Et accostatosi ad una, che Emerentiana si chiamava, moglie di Messer Lamberto Bentivogli; la chiese in ballo. Et ella ch'era gentile, e non men ardita, che bella, non lo rifiutò. Filenio adunque con lento passo menando, et alle volte stringendole la mano con bassa voce, così le disse. Valorosa donna tanta è la bellezza vostra che senza alcun fallo quella trapassa ogni altra, ch'io vedessi giamai. Et non vi è donna à cui cotanto amore io porti, quanto alla vostra altezza, la quale se mi corrisponderà nell'amore, terrommi il piu contento, et il piu felice huomo, che si truovi al mondo, ma altrimenti facendo, tosto vedrammi di vita privo, et ella ne sara stata della mia morte cagione. Amandovi io adunque Signora mia com'io fo, et è il debito mio, voi mi prendete per vostro servo, disponendo et di me, et delle cose mie (quantunque picciole sieno) come delle vostre proprie, e gratia maggiore dal cielo ricevere non potrei, che di venir soggetto a tanta donna, laquale come uccello mi ha preso nell'amorosa pania. Emerentiana, che attentamente ascoltae aveva le dolci, e gratiose parole, come persona prudente finse di non aver orecchie, et nulla respose. Finito il ballo, et andatasi Emerentiana à sedere, il giovane Filenio prese un'altra matrona per mano, et con essa lei cominciò à ballare, nè appena egli aveva principiata la danza, che con lei si mise in tal maniera a parlare. Certo non fa mestieri gentilissima madonna, che io con parole vi dimostri, quanto, e quale sia il fervido amore, ch'io vi porto, et porterò, fin che questo spirito

vitale reggerà queste deboli membra, et infelici ossa. Et felice, anzi beato mi terrei allora, quando io vi avessi per mia patrona, anzi singolar Signora. Amandovi adunque io, sì come io vi amo, et essendo io vostro sì come voi agevolmente potete intendere, non harrete a sdegno di ricevermi per vostro humilissimo servitore, perciò che ogni mio bene, et ogni mia vita da voi, non altronde dipende. La giovane donna, che Panthemia si chiamava, quantunque intendesse il tutto, non però li rispose, ma la danza honestamente seguì, e finito il ballo sorridendo alquanto si pose con le altere a sedere. Non stette molto, che l'innamorato Filenio prese la terza per mano, la piu gentile, la piu aggratiata, et la piu bella donna, che in Bologna allora si trovasse, et con esso lei cominciò menare una danza, facendosi far calle a coloro che s'appressavano per rimirla, et innanzi che si terminasse il ballo, egli le disse tai parole. Honestissima madonna, forse io parerò non poco presuntuoso, scoprendovi hora il celato amore, ch'io vi portai, et hora porto; ma non incolpate me, ma la vostra bellezza, laquale à ciascuna altra vi fa superiore, et me come vostro mancipio tiene. Taccio hora i vostri laudevoli costumi, taccio le egregie, et ammirabili vostre virtù, lequali sono tali, e tante, c'hanno forza di far discender giù da l'alto cielo i superni Dei. Se adunque la vostra bellezza accolta per natura, et non per arte aggradisce à gl'immortali Dei, non è maraviglia, se quella mi stringe ad amarvi, e tenervi chiusa nella viscere del mio cuore. Pregovi adunque, gentil Signora mia, unico refrigerio della mia vita, c'abbiate caro colui, che per voi mille volte al giorno muore. Il che facendo, io reputerò aver la vita per voi, alla cui gratia mi raccomando. La bella donna, che Sinfrosia s'appellava, havendo intese le care, e dolci parole, che dal focoso cuore di Filenio uscivano, non puote alcun sospiretto nascondere, ma pur consider-

ando l'phonor suo, et che era maritata, niuna risposta li diede, ma finito il ballo, se n'andò al suo luogo a sedere. Essendo tutte tre una appresso l'altra quasi in cerchio a sedere, et intertenendosi in piacevoli ragionamenti, Emerentiana moglie di messer Lambert non già a fine di male, ma burlando disse alle due compagne. Donne mie care, non vi ho io da raccontare una piacevolezza, che mi è avvenuta hoggi? Et che? dissero le compagne. Io (disse Emerentiana) mi ho trovato carolando un'innamorato, il piu bello, il piu leggiadro, et il piu gentile, che si possa trovare. Ilquale disse esser si acceso di me per la mia bellezza, che ne giorno, ne notte non trova riposo, e puntalmente le raccontò tutto ciò, ch'egli aveva detto. Ilche intendendo Panthemia, e Sinforosia, dissero quel medesimo essere avvenuto a loro, et dalla festa non si partirono, che agevolmente conobbero un'istesso esser stato colui, che con tutte tre haveva fatto l'amore. Il perche chiaramente compresero, che quelle parole dell'innamorato non da fede amorosa, ma da folle, e fittitio amore procedavano, et a sue parole prestarono quella credenza, che prestare si suole a'sogni de gl'infermi, o a fola di romanzi. Et indi non si partirono, che tutte tre concordì si dierono la fede di operare sì, che ciascheduna di loro da per se li farebbe una beffa, et di tal sorte, che l'innamorato si ricorderebbe sempre, che anche le donne sanno beffare. Continovando Filenio in far l'amore quando con una, quando con l'altra, et vedendo, che ciascheduna di loro faceva sembiente di volerli bene, si mise in cuore (se possibile era) di ottenere da ciascheduna di loro l'ultimo frutto d'amore, ma non li venne fatto, si come egli bramava, et era il desiderio suo, percioche fu perturbato ogni suo disegno. Emerentiana, che non poteva sofferire il fittitio amore del sciocco scolare, chiamò una sua fanticella assai piacevoletta, et bella, et le impose,

ch'ella dovesse con bel modo parlare con Filenio, e isponderli l'amore, che sua madonna li portava, e quando li fusse a piacere, ella una notte vorrebbe esser con esso lui in la propria casa. Ilche intendendo Filenio s'allegro, et disse alla fante, và, e ritorna a casa, raccomandami a tua madonna, et dille da parte mia, che questa sera la mi aspetti, già che'l marito suo non alberga in casa. In questo mezzo Emerentiana fece raccogliere molti fascioli di pungenti spine, e poseli sotto la lettiera, dove la notte giaceva, et stette ad aspettare, che lo amante venisse. Venuta la notte Filenio prese la spada, e soletto se n'andò alla casa della sua nemica, et datole il segno, fu tostamente aperto. E dopò, c'ebbero insieme ragionato alquanto, e lautamente cenato ambe duo andarono in camera per riposare. Filenio appena si haveva spogliato per girsene al letto, che sopraggiunse messer Lamberto suo marito. Il che intendendo la donna, finse di smarrirsi; et non sapendo dove l'amante nascondere, gli ordinò, che sotto il letto se n'andasse. Filenio veggendo il pericolo suo, et della donna, senza mettersi alcun vestimento in dosso, ma solo con la camiscia corse sotto la lettiera, et così fieramente si ponse, che non era parte veruna del suo corpo, cominciando dal capo sino a'piedi, che non gettasse sangue. Et quanto più egli in quel scuro voleva difendersi dalle spine, tanto maggiormente si pungeva, et non ardiva gridare, accioche messer Lamberto non l'udisse, et uccidesse. Io lascio considerar a voi, a che termine quella notte si ritrovasse il miserello, il quale poco mancò, che senza coda non restasse, sì come era rimasto senza favella. Venuto il giorno, et partitosi il marito di casa, il povero scolare meglio ch'egli puote si rivestì, e così sanguinoso a casa se ne tornò, et stette con un picciolo spavento di morte. Ma curato diligentemente dal medico si rihebbe, et ricuperò la pristina

salute. Non passarono molti giorni, che Filenio seguì il suo innamoramento, facendo l'amore con l'altre due, cioè con Panthemia, e Sinforosia, e tanto fece, che hebbe agio di parlare una sera con Panthemia, alla quale raccontò i suoi lunghi affanni, et continovi tormenti, et pregolla, che di lui pietà haver dovesse. L'astuta Panthemia, fingendo averli compassione, si iscusava di non aver il modo di poterlo accontentare, ma pur al fine vinta da suoi dolci preghi, et cocenti sospiri lo introdusse in casa. Essendo già spogliato per andarsene a letto con esso lei, Panthemia li comandò, che andasse nel camerino ivi vicino, ove ella teneva le sue acque nanfe, et profumate, e che prima molto bene si profumasse, et poi se n'andasse al letto. Il scolare non s'avedendo dell'astutia della malvagia donna, entrò nel camerino, et posto il piede sopra una tavola diffitta dal travicello, che la sosteneva, senza potersi ritenere insieme con la tavola cadde giù in un magazzino terreno, nel quale alcuni mercatanti tenavano bambagia, et lane. Et quantunque da alto cadesse, niuno però male si fece nella caduta. Ritrovandosi adunque il scolare in quello oscuro luogo, cominciò à brancolare, se scala, o uscio trovasse, ma nulla trovando, malediceva l'ora e'l punto, che Panthemia conosciuta havea. Venuta l'aurora, et tardi accortosi il miserello dell'inganno della donna, vide in una parte del magazzino certe fisure nelle mura, che alquanto rendevano di luce, et per essere antiche, et gramose di fastidiosa muffa, egli cominciò con maravigliosa forza cavar le pietre, ove men forti parevano, e tanto cavò, ch'egli fece un pertugio sì grande, che per quello fuori se ne uscì. Et trovandosi una calle non molto lontana dalla publica strada, così et scalzo, et in camiscia prese il camino verso il suo albergo, et senza esser da alcuno conosciuto, entrò in casa. Sinforosia, che già havea intesa l'una, et l'altra beffa fatta a Filenio, s'in-

gegnò di farli la terza, non minore delle due. E cominciollo con la coda dell'occhio, quand'ella lo vedeva guatare, dimostrandoli ch'ella si consumava per lui. Lo scolare, già domenticato delle passate ingiurie, cominciò a passeggiare dinanzi la casa di costei, facendo il passionato. Sinforosia avedendosi lui esser già del suo amore oltre misura acceso, li mandò per una vecchiarella una lettere, per laquale li dimostrò, ch'egli con la sua bellezza, e gentil costumi l'avea sì fieramente presa, e legata, ch'ella non trovava riposo ne dì, ne notte, e perciò, quando a lui fusse a grado, ella desiderava più che ogni altra cosa, di poter con esso lui favellare. Filenio presa la lettera, et inteso il tenore, et non considerato l'inganno, et dimenticatosi delle passate ingiurie fu il più lieto et consolato huomo che mai si trovasse. Et presa la carta et la penna le rispose che se ella lo amava e sentiva per lui tormento, che egli il medesimo sentiva e che di gran lunga amava più lei che ella lui et ad ogni hora che à lei paresse egli era a suoi servigi e comande. Letta la risposta e trovata la opportunità del tempo, Sinforosia lo fece venir in casa e dopo molti finti sospiri li disse. Filenio mio non so qual altro che tu mi havesse mai condotta à questo passo, al quale condotta mi hai. Imperciò che la tua bellezza, la tua leggiadria, et il tuo parlare mi ha posto tal fuoco nell'anima che come secco legno mi sento abbruciare. Ilche sentendo lo scolare teneva per certo ch'ella tutta si struggesse per suo amore. Dimorando adunque il cattivello con Sinforosia in dolci e dilettevoli ragionamenti e parendogli homai l'hora di andarsene al letto, e coricarsi a lato a lei disse Sinforosia. Anima mia innanzi che noi andiamo a letto mi pare convenevole cosa che noi ci riconfortiamo alquanto, e presolo per la mano lo condusse in un camerino ivi vicino dove era una tavola apparecchiata con preciosi confetti, et ottimi vini.

Havea la sagace donna alloppiato il vino per far che egli si addormentasse sin'à certo tempo. Filenio prese il bicchiere, et lo empì di quel vino, et non avendendosi dell'inganno, intieramente lo bevè. Restaurati li spiriti, e bagnatosi con acqua nanfa, e ben profumatosi, se n'andò à letto. Non stette guari che'l liquore operò la sua virtù e il giovane si profondamente s'addormentò che'l grave tuono dell'artiglierie malagevolmente destato l'havrebbe. La onde Sinforosia vedendo ch'egli dirottamente dormiva, e il liquore la sua operazione ottimamente dimostrava, si parti e chiamò una sua fante giovane, et gagliarda che del fatto era consapevole et amendue per le mani e per li piedi presero lo scolare e chetamente aperto l'uscio lo misero sopra la strada tanto lungi di casa quanto sarebbe un buon tratto di pietra. Era cerca un hora innanzi che spuntasse l'aurora quando il liquore perdè la sua virtù e il miserello si destò et credendo egli esser à lato di Sinforosia si trovò scalzo e in camiscia mezo morto di freddo giacere sopra la nuda terra. Il poverello quasi perduto delle braccia e delle gambe appena si puote levare in piedi ma pur con gran malagevolezza levatosi et non potendo quasi affermarsi in piedi meglio ch'egli puote e seppe senza esser da alcun veduto al suo albergo ritornò et alla sua salute provedè. Et se non fusse stata la giovinezza che l'aiutò certamente egli sarebbe rimasto attratto de'nervi. Filenio ritornato sano e nell'esser che era prima chiuse dentro del petto le passate ingiurie e senza mostrarsi crucciato e di portarle odio finse ch'egli era di tutte tre vie piu innamorato che prima et quando l'una e quando l'altra vagheggiava. Et elle non avendendosi del mal animo ch'egli aveva contro loro ne prendevano trastullo facendoli quel viso allegro e quella benigna e grätiosa ciera che ad un vero innamorato far si suole. Il giovane pensò piu volte di giocar di mano e signarle la faccia ma

come savio considerò la grandezza delle donne e che vergognosa cosa li sarebbe stata à percuotere tre femminelle et raffrenossi. Pensava adunque e ripensava il giovane qual via in vendicarsi tener dovesse et non sovvenendogliene alcuna molto fra stesso si rammaricava. Avenne dopò molto spatio di tempo, che'l giovane s'imaginò di far cosa che al suo desiderio agevolmente sodisfar potesse, et si come gli venne nell'animo, così la fortuna li fu favorevole. Haveva Filenio in Bologna a pigione un bellissimo palagio, il quale era ornato d'una ampia sala e di polite camere. Egli determino di far una superba e honorata festa et invitare assai donne tra quali vi fussero anco Emerentiana Panthemia e Sinforosia. Fatto l'invito et accettato et venuto il dì dell'honorevol festa tutte tre le donne poco savie senza pensar piu oltre se n'andarono. Essendo la hora di rinfrescar le donne con recenti vini, et preciosi confetti, l'astuto giovane prese le tre innamorate per mano, et con molta piacevolezza le menò in una camera, pregandole che si rinfrescassero alquanto. Venute adunque le pazze e sciocche tre donne in camera, il giovane chiuse l'uscio della camera, e andatosene a loro disse. Hora malvagie femine è venuto'l tempo ch'io mi vendicherò di voi, e farovvi portar la pena dell'ingiuria fattami pel mio grand'amore. Le donne udendo queste parole rimasero piu morte che vive e cominciarono a rammaricarsi d'haver altrui offeso e appresso questo malediceano loro medesime che troppo s'havessero fidate di colui che odiare dovevano. Lo scolare con turbato e minaccievole viso comandò che per quanto cara haveano la vita loro tutte tre ignude si spogliassino. Il che intendendo le ghiottoncelle si guatarono l'una con l'altra e dirottamente cominciarono a piagnere pregandolo non già per lor amore ma per sua cortesia e innata humanità l'honor suo riservato le fusse. Il giovane che dentro tutto godeva

in ciò le fu molto cortese non volse però che nel suo conspetto vestite rimasero. Le donne gettatesi a' piedi del scolare con pietose lagrime humilmente lo pregarono che licentiarle le dovesse e che di sì grave scorno non fusse cagione. Ma egli che già fatto havea di diamante il cuore disse questo non esser di biasmo ma di vendetta degno. Spogliatesi adunque le donne, e rimase come nacquero, erano così belle ignude come vestite. Il giovane scolare riguardandole da capo a piedi e vedendole sì belle e sì delicate che la lor bianchezza avanzava la neve, cominciò tra se sentire alquanto compassione, ma nella memoria ritornandoli le ricevute ingiurie, e il pericolo di morte scacciò da se ogni pietà e nel suo fiero e duro proponimento rimase. Appresso questo l'astuto giovane tolse tutte le vestimenta loro, e altre robbe che indosso portate havevano, e in uno camerino ivi vicino le pose e con parole assai spiacevoli le ordinò che tutte tre l'una a lato de l'altra nel letto si coricassero. Le donne tutte sgomentate e tremanti da terrore dissero. O insensate noi che diranno i mariti, che diranno i parenti nostri, come si saprà, che noi siamo quivi state ignude trovate uccise? Meglio sarebbe, che noi fusimo morte in fascie, ch'esser con tal vituperoso scorno manifestate. Lo scolare vedendole coricate l'una appresso l'altra come fanno marito e moglie prese uno lenzuolo bianchissimo ma non molto sottile, accioche non trasparessero le carni, e fussero conosciute e tutte tre coperse da capo a piedi; e uscitosi di camera e chiuso l'uscio trovò li mariti loro che in sala danzavano et finito il ballo menolli nella camera dove le donne in letto giacevano e disseli. Signori miei io vi ho quivi condotti par darvi un poco di solazzo et per mostrarvi la piu bella cosa che a tempi vostri vedeste giamai e approssimatosi al letto con un torchietto in mano legghiermente cominciò levar il lenzuolo da piedi, e inviluppandolo e discoperse le donne sino alle ginoc-

chia e i suoi mariti videro le tondette e bianche gambe con i loro isnelli piedi maravigliosa cosa à riguardare. Indi discopersele sino al petto e mostrolli le candidissime coscie che parean due colonne di puro marmo col ritondo corpo all finissimo alabastro somigliante. Dopò scoprendole piu in sù li mostrò il teneretto poco relevato petto con le due popoline sode delicate e tonde che harebbono constretto il somme Giove ad abbracciarle et basciarle. Di che i mariti ne prendevano quel trastullo e contento che imaginar si puote. Lascio pensar a voi, à che termine si trovavano le misere et infelici donne quando udivano i mariti suoi prendere di loro trastullo. Elle stavano chete, e non osavano citire accioche conosciute non fussero. I mariti tentavano lo scolare che le discoprisse il volto ma egli piu prudente nel altrui male che nel suo consentire non lo volse. Non contento di questo il giovane prese le vestimenta di tutte tre le donne e mostrolle a i mariti loro. I quali vedendo rimasero con una certa stupefattione che li rodeva il cuore. Dopò con grandissima maraviglia piu intensamente riguardandole dicevano tra se. Non è questo il vestimento ch'io fei alla mia donna? Non è questa la scuffia che io le comprai? Non è questo il pendente che le discende dal collo inanzi il petto? Non sono questi gli analletti che ella portava in dito? Usciti di camera per non turbar la festa non si partirono ma à cena rimasero. Il giovane scolare che gia aveva inteso esser cotta la cena et ogni cosa del discretissimo siniscalco apparecchiata ordinò che ognuno si ponesse a mensa. E mentre che gli invitati menavano le mascelle lo scolare ritornò nella camera dove le tre donne in letto giacevano e discopertele disse. Buon di madonne havete voi uditi i mariti vostri? Eglino quivi fuori con grandissimo desiderio vi aspettano di vedere, che dimorate? Levatevi su dormiglione non sbadigliate cessate homai di stropicciarvi

gli occhi, prendete le vestimenta vostre e senza indugio ponetevele indosso che homai è tempo di gire in sala dove le altre donne vi aspettano. E così li berteggiava e con diletto teneva à parole. Le sconsolate donne dubitando che'l caso suo havebbe qualche crudel fine piangevano et si disperavano della loro salute. Et così angosciate et da dolor trafitte in piedi si levarono più la morte che altro aspettando, et voltatesi verso lo scolare dissero. Filenio ben ti sei oltre modo di noi vendicato; altro non ci resta, se non, che tu prendi la tua tagliente spada e con quella tu ne dia la morte la quale noi più che ogn'altra cosa desideriamo. E se questa gratia tu non ne vuoi fare ti preghiamo almeno isconosciute a casa ne lasci ritornare accioche l'honor nostro salvo rimanga. Parendo a Filenio aver fatto assai prese gli suoi panni, datigli gli ordinò che subito si rivestissero et rivestite che furono per un'uscio secreto fuori di casa le mandò, e così vergognate senza esser d'alcuno conosciute alle loro case ritornarono. Spogliatesi le loro vestimenta che indosso havevano, le possero nelli lor forzieri, et astutamente senza andar à letto si misero a lavorare. Finita la cena i mariti ringraziarono lo scolare del buon accetto che fatto gli haveva e molto più del piacere che havevano havuto in vedere i delicati corpi che di bellezza avanzavano il sole, e preso da lui commiato si partirono, et a i loro alberghi ritornarono. Ritornati adunque i mariti a casa trovarono le loro mogli che nelle loro camere presso il fuoco sedevano et cucivano. Et per che i panni, l'anella et le gioie da'mariti vedute nella camera di Filenio li davano alquanto sospitione, accioche niuno sospetto li rimanesse ciascuno di loro addimandò la sua donna dove era stata quella sera e dove erano le sue vestimenta. A i quali ciascheduna di loro arditamente rispose che di casa quella notte uscita non era e presa la chiave della cassa dove erano le robbe li mostrò le vestimenta le anella e ciò che i

loro mariti fatto gli havevano. Il che vedendo i mariti et non sapendosi che dire rimasero cheti raccontando minutamente alle loro donne tutto quello che gli era quella notte avvenuto. Il che intendendo le mogli, fecero sembiante di non saper nulla, e doppo che hebbero alquanto riso si spogliarono e s'andarono à riposare. Non passarono molti giorni che Filenio piu volte per strada s'incontrò nelle sue care madonne e disse. Qual di noi hebbe maggior spavento? qual di noi fu peggio trattato? ma elle tenendo gli occhi chini à terra uulla rispondevano. Et in tal guisa lo scolare meglio, che egli seppe et puote senza battitura alcuna virilmente si vendicò della ricevuta ingiuria.



2. *The Story of Buccinolo and Pietro Paolo.*

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[From "Il Pecorone di Ser Giovanni Fiorentino," 4^o, Trevig., 1640, fol. 7. This is the tale translated in "The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers."]

FINITA la novella cominciò Saturnina e disse così. Molto m'è piaciuta questa novella considerando la fermezza colui havendo nelle braccia colei cui egli haveva cotanto tempo desiderata. Che s'io fossi stata in quel caso che fu egli non so ch'io m'avessi fatto. Nondimeno io ti vuo dire una novelletta la quale credo che t'habbia à piacere e dice in questo modo.

Egli hebbe in Roma in casa i Savelli due compagni e consorti l'uno de quali haveva nome Bucciollo e l'altro Pietro Paolo ben nati e assai ricchi dell'havere del mondo : perch'eglino si possero in cuore d'andare a studiare à Bologna ; e l'uno volle apparar legge e l'altro decreto e così presero commiato da parenti loro e vennero à Bologna : et ordinatamente l'uno udì legge et l'altro decreto e così studiarono per ispatio di piu tempo. Et, come voi sapete, il decreto e di minor volume che non è la legge però Bucciollo che udiva decreto apparì piu tosto che non fe Pietri Paolo :

per che essendo licenziato e' prese per partito di ritornarsi a Roma et disse a Pietro Paolo. Fratel mio poi ch'io son licenziato io ho fermo di volermi ritornare à casa. Rispose Pietro Paolo, io ti priego che tu non mi lasci qui ma piacciati d'aspettarmi questo verno e poi à primavera noi ce n'andremo. Tu in questo mezo potrai apparare qualche altra scienza et non perderai tempo. Di che Bucciuolo fu contento et promise gli d'aspettarlo. Onde avvenne che Bucciuolo per non perder tempo se n'andò al maestro suo et disse, Io mi son deliberato d'aspettare questo mio compagno e parente e però voglio che vi piaccia d'insegnarmi qualche bella scienza in questo tempo. Rispose il maestro ch'era contento e però gli disse Eleggi quale scienza tu vuoi e io te la insegnerò volentieri e Bucciuolo disse Maestro mio io vorrei apparare come s'innamora e che modo si tiene. Rispose il maestro quasi ridendo Questo mi piace e non potresti haver trovato scienza di che io fosse piu contento che di questa. Et però vattene domenica mattina alla chiesa de frati minori quando vi saranno ragunate tutte le donne e porrai mente se ve n'ha nessuna che ti piaccia: e quando l'havrai trovata seguila infino che tu veggia dove ella sta, e poi torna da me e questa sia la prima parte ch'io voglio che tu appari. Partissi Bucciuolo e la domenica mattina vegnente sendo al luogo de fratri come il maestro gli haveva detto e dando d'occhio tra quelle donne che ve n'erano assai, videvene una fra l'altre che moltò gli piaceva perche ella era assai bella e vaga. Per che partendosi la donne della chiesa Bucciuolo le tenne dietro e vide e apparò la casa dov'ella stava; onde la donna s'avvide che questo scolare s'era incominciato à innamorare di lei e Bucciuolo ritornò al maestro e disse io ho fatto ciò che voi mi diceste e honne veduta una che molto mi piace. Perche il maestro di questo pigliava grandissimo diletto e quasi uccellava Bucciuolo veggendo la

scienza ch'egli voleva apparare gli disse, Fa che tu vi passi ogni dí due o tre volte honestamente e habbia sempre gli occhi con teco e guarda che tu non sia veduto guardare allei ma pigliate con gli occhi quel piacere che tu puoi si ch'ella s'avvegga che tu le voglia bene et poi torna da me. Et questa sia la seconda parte. Bucciuolo si partì dal maestro e cominciò saviamente à passare da casa la donna sì che la donna s'avvide certamente ch'e'vi passava per lei. Ond' ella cominciò à guardar lui talche Bucciuolo la cominciò à inchinare saviamente et ella lui piu e piu volte, da che Bucciuolo s'avvide che la donna l'amava: per la qual cosa il tutto riferì al maestro, e essogli rispose e disse. Questo mi piace e son contento e hai saputo ben fare insino à qui; hor conviene che tu trovi modo di farle parlare à una di queste che vanno vendendo per Bologna veli e borse e altre cose. Et mandale à dire come tu se'suo servidore e che non e persona al mondo à cui tu voglia meglio che allei e che tu faresti volentieri cosa che la piacesse: e udirai com'ella ti dirà. Et poi secondo ch'ella ti manda rispondendo torna da me e dimmelo: et io ti dirò quel che tu habbia à fare. Bucciuolo subito si partì e trovò una merciaiuola ch'era tutto atta a quello ufficio e si le disse. Io voglio che voi mi facciate un grandissimo servizio et io vi pagherò sì che sarete contenta. Rispose la merciaiuola io farò cio che voi mi direte però ch'io non si sono per altro se non per guadagnare. Bucciuolo le donò due fiorini e disse Io voglio che voi andiate hoggi una volta in una via che si chiama la Mascarella ove sta una giovane che si chiama madonna Giovanna alla quale io voglio meglio cheà persona che al mondo sia e voglio che voi me le raccomandiate e che voi le diciate ch'io farei volentieri cosa che la piacesse. E intorno à cio ditele quelle dolci parole ch'io so le saprete dire: e di questo vi prego quanto io so e posso. Disse la vecchietta, lasciate

fare à me ch'io piglierò il tempo. Rispose Bucciuolo, Andate ch'io v'aspetto qui. Et ella subitamente si mosse con un paniere di sue merce e andonne a questa donna e trovolla à sedere in sull'uscio e salutolla e poi le disse Madonna havrei io cosa tra queste mie mercantie che vi piacesse? prendetene arditamente pur che ve ne piaccia. Et così si pose à sedere con lei e cominciolle à mostrare e veli e borse e cordelle e specchi e altre cose. Perche veduto molte cose, molto le piacque una borsa che v'era: ond'ella disse S'io havess danari io comprerei volentieri questa borsa. Disse la merciaiuola, Madonna e' non vi bisogna guardare à cotesto: prendete se c'è cosa che vi piaccia però ch'egli è pagato ogni cosa. La donna si maravigliò udendo le parole e veggendosi fare tante amorevolezze à costei e disse Madonna mia che volete voi dire? Che parole son queste? La vecchietta quasi lagrimando disse, io ve lo dirò. Egli è vero che un giovane che ha nome Bucciuolo mi ci ha mandata; il quale v'ama e vuolvi meglio che à persona che sia al mondo. Et non è cosa che potesse fare per voi che non facesse; e dicemi che Dio non gli potrebbe fare maggior gratia che essergli comandato da voi qualche cosa. E in verità e' mi pare ch'e' si consumi tutto; tant'è la voglia ch'egli ha di parlarvi; e forse io non vidi mai il più da bene giovane di lui. La donna udendo le parole si fece tutto di color vermiglio e volsesi à costei e disse se non fosse ch'io vi risguardo per amore dell' honor mio io vi governerei sì che trista vi farie. Come non ti vergognitu sozza vecchia di venire à una buona donna a dire queste parole? che trista ti faccia Dio. E in questa parola la giovane prese la stanza dell'uscio per volerle dare, et disse Se tu ci torni mai più io governerò sì che tu non sarai mai da vedere. Perche la vecchietta fu presta e subito prese le cose sue spicchia et vennessene con Dio e hebbe una grandissima paura di non

provare quella stanga et non si tenne sicura insino ch'ella non guinse à Bucciuolo. Come Bucciuolo la vide la domandò di novelle e come il fatto stava. Rispose la vecchietta, Sta male per cio ch'io non hebbi mai la maggior paura: e in conclusione ella non ti vuole ne udire ne vedere. Et se non fosse ch'io fui presta à partirmi, io havrei forse provato d'una stanga ch'ella haveva in mano. Quanto per mi io non intendo piu tornarvi; e anche consiglio te, che non t'impacci piu in questi fatti. Bucciuolo rimasi tutto sconsolato et subito se n'andò al maestro et disse cio che gli era incontrato. Il maestro lo confortò et disse non temere Bucciuolo che l'albero non cade per un colpo. Et però fa che tu vi passi stasera et pon mente che viso ella ti fa et guarda s'ella ti pare coruciata ò nò et tornamelo à dire. Mossesi Bucciuolo e andò verso la casa dove stave quella sua donna: la quale quando lo vide venire subitamente chiamò una sua fancuilla et dissele fa che tu vada dietro à quel giovane et digli per mia parte che mi venga stasera à parlare et non falli. Perche la fanticella andò à quello, et disse, Messere dice Madonna Giovanna che voi vegniate stasera infino allei; però ch'ella vi vuol parlare. Maravigliossi Bucciuolo e poi le rispose et disse Dille ch'io vi verrò volentieri: e subito tornò al maestro e disse come il fatto stava. Di che il maestro si maravigliò in se medesimo hebbe sospetto che quella non fosse la donna sua com'ella era: et disse a Bucciuolo Bene andravi tu? disse Bucciuolo si bene. Rispose il maestro fa che quando tu vi vai tu faccia la via ritto quinci. Disse Bucciuolo sarà fatto; e partissi. Era questa giovane moglie del maestro, et Bucciuolo nol sapeva e'l maestro n'haveva gia presa gelosia perche egli dormiva il verno alla scuola per leggere la notte à gli scolari, e la donna sua si stava sola ella e la fante. Il maestro disse Io non vorrei che costui havesse apparato alle mie spese et pertanto lo vuo

sapere. Perche venendo la sera Bucciuolo allui, disse maestro io vo. Disse il maestro Va e sia savio. Soggiunse Bucciuolo Lasciate fare à me et partissi dal maestro; et havevasi messo in dosso una buona pancia, et sotto il braccio una giusta spada, e allato un buon coltello; e non andava come ismemorata. Il maestro come Bucciuolo fu partito si gli avviò dietro, e di tutto questo Bucciuolo non sapeva niente; il quale giugnendo all'uscio della donna come lo toccò la donna si gli asperse e miselo dentro. Quando il maestro s'avvide che questa era la donna sua venne tutto meno e disse or veggo bene che costui ha apparato alle mie spese e si pensò d'ucciderlo e ritornò alla scuola e accatò una spada et un coltello e con molta furia fu tornato à casa con animo di fare villania a Bucciuolo: e giunto all'uscio cominciò con molta fretta à bussare. La donna era à sedere al fuoco con Bucciuolo e sentendo bussar l'uscio subitamente si pensò che fosse il maestro e prese Bucciuolo e nascose lo sotto un monte di panni di bucato, i quali non erano ancora rasciutti e per lo tempo gli haveva ragunati in su una tavola à pie d'una finestra. Poi corse all'uscio e domandò, chi era. Rispose il maestro; Apri che tu lo potrai ben sapere mala femina che tu sei. La donna gli aperse et veggendolo con la spada disse Oime signor mio ch'è questo? disse il maestro Ben lo sai tu, chi tu hai in casa. Disse la donna, Trista me che di tu? sei tu fuori della memoria? cercate ciò che e'è; e se voi ci trovate persona squartatemi. Come comincierei io hora à far quello ch'io non fei mai? guardate signor mio che'l nemico non vi facesse veder cosa che voi perdeste l'anima. Il maestro fece accendere un torchietto e cominciò à cercare nella cella tra le botti; e poi se ne venne suso, et cercò tutta la camera et sotto il letto et mise la spada per lo saccone tutto forandolo: e brevemente e' cercò tutta la camera

et non lo seppe trovare. Et la donna sempre gli era allato col lume in mano et spesse volte diceva Maestro mio segnatevi che percerto il nemico di Dio v'ha tentato e havvi mosso à vedere quello che mai non potrebbe essere: che s'io havessi pelo addosso che'l pensasse io m'ucciderei io stessa. Et però vi priego per Dio che voi non vi lasciate tentare. Perche il maestro veggendo ch'e'non v'era e udendo le parole della donna quasi se'l credette; e poco stante egli spense il lume è andossene alla scuola. Onde la donna subita serrò l'uscio e cavò Bucciulo di sotto i pani e accese un gran fuoco e quivi cenarono un grosso e grasso capone e ebbero di parecchi ragioni vino e così cenarono di grandissimo vantaggio. Disse la donna piu volte vedi che questo mio marito non ha pensato niente. E dopo molta festa e solazzo la donna lo prese per mano e menollo nella camera e con molta allegrezza s'andarono à letto e in quella notte si diedero quel piacere che l'una parte e l'altra volse rendendo piu e piu volte l'uno all'altro pace. Et passata la desiata notte venne il giorno: perche Bucciulo si levò et disse Madonna io mi vuo partire: vorrestemi voi commandar niente? disse la donna Sì che tu ci torni stasera. Disse Bucciulo sarà fatto: e preso commiato uscì fuori e andossene alla scuola et disse al maestro Io v'ho da fa ridere. Rispose il maestro, come? Disse Bucciulo Hier sera poi che fui in casa colei et eccoti il marito e cercò tutta la casa et non mi seppe trovare: ella m'haveva nascoso sotto un monte di panni di bucato, i quali non erano anchora rasciutti. Et brevemente la donna seppe si ben dire ch'egli se n'ando fuori: talche noi poi cenammo d'un grosso capone e beemo di fini vini con la maggior festa e allegrezza che voi vedeste mai: et così ci demmo vita et tempo enfino à di. Et perche io ho poco dormito tutta notte mi voglio ire à riposare: perch'io le promisi di ritornarvi stasera. Disse

il maestro fa che quando tu vi vai tu mi faccia motto. Bucciuolo disse Volentieri e poi si partì e'l maestro rimase tutto infiammato che per dolore non trovava luogo e in tutto il dì non potè leggere lettione tanto haveva il cuore afflitto : et pensossi di giugnerlo la sera vegnente e accattò una panciera e una cervelliera. Come tempo fu Bucciuolo non sapendo niente di questo fatto puramente se n'andò al maestro et disse io vò. Disse il maestro va e torna quinci domattina à dirmi come tu havrai fatto. Rispose Bucciuolo il farò e subito s'avviò verso la casa della donna. Il maestro subito tolse l'arme sua e uscì dietro à Bucciuolo quasi presso presso : et pensava di guignerlo sull'uscio. La donna che stava attenta subito gli aperse e miselo dentro et serri l'uscio e'l maestro subito giunse et cominciò a bussare e à fare un gran romore. La donna subitamente spense il lume e mise Buccioli dietro à se e aperse l'uscio e abbracciò il marito e con l'altro braccio mise fuori Bucciuolo che'l marito non se n'avvide. Et poi cominciò a gridare, Accorr'huomo, accor'huomo che'l maestro è impazzato ; et parte il teneva stretto abbracciato. I vicini sentendo questo romore corsero et veggendo il maestro essere così armato e udendo la donna che diceva Tenetelo. ch'egli è impazzato per lo troppo studiare, avisaronsi e se'l credettero ch'e' fosse fuor della memoria : et cominciarongli à dire. Eh maestro che vuol dir questo ? andatevi su'l letto a riposare, non v'affaticate piu. Disse il maestro come mi vuo io riposare quando questa mala femina ha uno huomo in casa e io ce o vide entrare ? disse la donna, Trista la vita mia domandate tutti questi vicini se mai s'avvidero pur d'un mal atto di me. Risposero tutte le donne et gli huomini Maestro non habbiate pensiero di cotesto però che mai non nacque la miglior donna di costei ne la piu costumata ne con la miglior fama. Disse il maestro, Come, che io le vidi entrare

uno; e so che c'è entrato. In tanto vennero due fratelli della donne; per ch'ella subito cominciò a piagnere et disse fratelli miei questo mio marito è impazzato e dice ch'io ho in casa uno huomo e non mi vuole se non morta: e voi sapete bene se io sono stata femina da quelle novelle. I fratelli dissero. Noi ci maravigliamo come voi chiamate questa nostra sorella mala femina: e che vi move più hora che l'altre volte essendo stata con voi tanto tempo quanto ell'è? Disse il maestro Io vi so dire che c'è uno in casa et io l'ho visto. Risposero i fratelli. Or via, cerchiamo se c'è: et se ci ha noi faremo di lei sì fatta chiarezza et daremle sì fatta punitione che voi sarete contento. E l'uno di loro chiamò la sorella et disse dimmi il vero hacci tu persona nessuna in casa? Rispose la donna oime che di tu? Christo me ne guardi, et diemi prima la morte innanzi ch'io volessi haver pelo che'l pensasse. Oime farei hora quello che non fe mai nessuna di casa nostra? non ti vergogni tu pure à dirmelo? Di che il fratello fu molto contento e col maestro insieme cominciarono à cercare. Il maestro se n'andò di subito a questi panni et venne forando contendendo con Bucciuolo ò vero credendo che Bucciuolo vi fosse dentro. Disse la donna. Non vi dico io ch'egli è impazzato à guastare questi panni? Tu non gli facesti tu. E così s'avvidero i fratelli che'l maestro era impazzato: e quando egli hebbero ben cerco cio che v'era non trovando persona disse l'uno dei fratelli. Costui è impazzato: e l'altro disse maestro in buona fe maestro voi fate una grandissima villania à fare questa nostra sorella mala femina. Perche il maestro ch'era infiammato et sapeva quel ch'era cominciò adirarsi forte di parole con costoro et sempre teneva la spada ignuda in mano; onde costoro presero un buon bastone in mano per uno e bastonarono il maestro di vantaggio in modi che gli ruppero quei due bastoni adosso et lo incatenarono come matto dicendo ch'egli era impazzato per lo troppo

studiare et tutta notte lo tennero legato ; et eglino si dormirono con la loro sorella. Et la mattina mandarono per lo medico, il qual gli fece fare un letto à pie del fuoco ; et commando che non gli lasciassero favellare à persona, e che non gli rispondessero à nulla et che lo tennessero à dieta tanto ch'egli rassottigliasse la memoria ; et cosi fu fatto. La voce andò per Bologna come questo maestro era impazzato e à tutti ne incresceva dicendo l'un con l'altro Per certo io me n'avvide infino hieri percioch'e' non poteva leggere la lettion nostra. Alcuno diceva, Io lo vidi tutto mutare : si che per tutti si diceva ch'egli era impazzato e cosi si ragunarono per andarlo à visitare. Buccioli non sapendo niente di questo venne alla scuola con animo di dire al maestro cio che gli era intervenuto : e giugnendo gli fu detto come il maestro era impazzato. Bucciolo se ne maravigliò e increbbe gliene assai e con gli altri insieme l'andò à visitare. Et giugnendo alla casa del maestro, Bucciolo si cominciò à fare la maggior maraviglia del mondo e quasi venne meno veggendo il fatto com'egli stava. Ma perche nessuno s'accorgesse di niente, andò dentro con gli altri insieme. Et giugnendo in sulla sala vide il maestro tutto rotto e incatenato giacere su'l letto à piè del fuoco per che tutti gli scolari si condolsero co'l maestro dicendo che del caso incresceva loro forte. Onde toccò anche a Bucciolo a fargli motto, et disse, Maestro mio di voi m'incresce quanto di padre e se per me si può far cosa che vi piaccia, fate di me come di figliuolo. Rispose il maestro e disse Bucciolo Bucciolo vatti con Dio che tu hai bene apparato alle mie spese. Disse la donna non date cura a sue parole però che egli vagella et non sa ciò ch'egli stesso si favella. Partissi Bucciolo, e venne a Pietro Paolo, e disse Fratello mio fatti con Dio però ch'io hò tanto apparato che non voglio più apparare. et cosi si parti et tornossi à Roma con buona ventura.

with set out with a basket of her wares, and went to this lady, whom she found sitting at her door, and, saluting her, she said to her, My lady, is there any thing among these my wares that would please you; take without doubting whatever you will. And hereupon she sat down beside her, and began to show her veils, and purses, and ribbons, and mirrors, and other things. When she had looked at many things, she was taken with a purse which was there, and she said, If I had the money I would willingly buy this purse. The pedlar woman replied, Madam, there is no need to stand upon that: take what you please, for all is paid for. The lady wondered hearing these words, and seeing herself treated with so much show of good will, and said, What do you mean, madam, and what words are these? The old lady, half crying, said, I will tell you. In very truth, a young gentleman named Bucciuolo has sent me to you, who loves you, and wishes you better than any body in this world; there is nothing that he could do for you which he would not do: and he has told me that no greater happiness could come to him from God, than that he should have some command from you. And, indeed, it seems to me that he is pining away for the great longing he has to speak to you; a better youth than him I never saw.

The lady grew all crimson as she heard these words, and, turning to the other, she said, Were it not that I look to my own honour, I would so use you that you should repent of this. How is it you are not ashamed, vile old woman, to speak such words to a lady of honour? God give you your deserts therefore. And, so speaking, the young lady took the wooden bar which fastened the door, as if she would beat her with it, and said, If thou ever come hither again, I will so use thee that thou wilt not speedily be seen again. Whereat the old woman hastily took up her goods, and made her escape, mightily afraid of feeling the bar of wood on her shoulders, and thought herself not safe until she arrived at the house of Bucciuolo. When he saw her he asked her news, and how the matter stood. She replied, Ill enough, for I never was so afraid in my life. In short, she will neither hear nor see thee; and but that I was quick to escape, I should, doubtless, have felt a stick that she had in her hand. For my own part, I have no will to return thither. And I would counsel thee also to have nothing more to do in this matter.

Bucciuolo remained all discouraged at this, and went to his master to tell him what had happened to him. But he comforted him, saying, Take courage, Bucciuolo, the tree does not fall for a single stroke. But contrive to pass her house this evening, and mark what countenance she shows thee, and

whether she appears angry with thee or not, and return to tell me. So Bucciuolo set out again for the house where this his lady was ; who, when she saw him coming, suddenly called a serving girl of hers, and said to her, Go after that young gentleman, and tell him on my part to come to speak to me this evening without fail. So the girl came up to him and said, Sir, Madonna Giovanna bids that you come to her this evening, since she would speak with you. The youth was much surprised, but replied to her, saying, Tell her that I will come willingly, and returned immediately to his master to tell him how the case stood. At this the master marvelled, and began to doubt in himself whether this might not be his own wife, as, indeed, it was ; and he said to Bucciuolo, Wilt thou go thither ? Surely, replied the other. The master replied, When thou goest there, go straight hence, to which Bucciuolo replied, It shall be so, and set out immediately. Now this young lady was the wife of the master, and Bucciuolo did not know it ; and her husband had already conceived a jealousy of her, because he was obliged in winter to sleep at the school, that he might lecture at night, and his wife staid alone at home, she and the maid. I would not wish, said the master, that this man should be taught at my expense, but at least I will know whether it is so. So Bucciuolo coming to him in the evening, said to him, Master, I am going, and he replied, Go, and be prudent. Trust to me, said his scholar, and departed, having put on a shirt of mail, and with a good sword under his arm, and a knife by his side ; and he went, taking good heed how he was going. When he was gone, the master set out after him, but of all this the scholar knew nothing ; and, arriving at the house of the lady, he knocked, and was immediately let in. When the master saw that this was indeed his wife, he was ready to swoon with vexation, and said, Now I see that he has been learning at my expense ; and he thought to slay him, and returned to the school to put on a sword and a dagger, and returned in great rage to the house with the mind to do Bucciuolo a grievous injury : and, when he came to the door, he knocked in great haste. The lady was sitting with Bucciuolo by the fire, and, hearing the door so suddenly assaulted, she imagined that it must be her husband, and took and hid her lover under a heap of clothes from the washing, which were not yet fully dry, and had been thrown for a time on a table under a window. Then she ran to the door to ask who was there, to which her husband replied, Open the door, for thou knowest well enough who it is, wretched woman. So she opened to him, and seeing his sword, cried out, O, my lord, what is this ? The master replied, Thou very well knowest ; who is it thou hast in the

house? The lady said, Alas for thee, art thou out of thy mind? search if there is any one here, and if there be any one found here, cut me in pieces : how should I begin to do now what I never did in my life before ; take care, my lord, lest the fiend show you somewhat which should drive you from your right mind. The master bade her light a torch, and began to look in the cellar among the barrels ; then he came up stairs and looked through all the bedchamber, and under the bed, and put his sword into the mattress, piercing it in all directions. In short, he searched the whole chamber, but could not find what he sought. The lady stood by him all the while with the light in her hand, and said from time to time, Cross yourself, sir, for surely the enemy of God has tempted you, and moved you to see the thing which could never be ; for, if I had a hair on my body that could think of such a thing, I would slay myself ; and, therefore, I pray you for God's sake resist this temptation. The master seeing that there was no one there, and hearing the lady's words, was in some sort persuaded that she spoke the truth, wherefore he put out the lamp, and went back again to the school. Hereupon the lady quickly locked the door, and took out Bucciuolo from his hiding-place, and lighted a great fire, and there they prepared for supper a fine and fat capon, and had wine to match it, and thus they supped splendidly. The lady said several times, Look, this husband of mine has gone, and suspects nothing. And after much feasting and merriment, the lady took him by the hand and led him into the chamber.

But the day came ; wherefore Bucciuolo rose and said, Lady, I must go ; but have you any commands for me? She answered, Yes, that thou shouldst return this evening. It shall be so, said Bucciuolo, and, taking his leave, he went to the school, and said to his master, I have wherewithall to make you laugh. How? said he. Bucciuolo replied, Yesterday, when I was in the house of her you wot of, behold her husband comes and searches all the house and cannot find me, for she had hidden me under a heap of wet clothes from the wash ; and, in short, she contrived to deceive him so well, that he went out ; and then we supped on a fat capon and the best of wines, and had such feasting as you never saw : and thus we amused ourselves till dawn of day. And as I have slept but little all night, I will go to sleep now ; for I promised her to return this evening. The master said, When thou goest, let me know of it. He said, With all my heart, and so went away, and the master remained all inflamed with jealousy, and so troubled that he could not for very grief lecture to his scholars. However, he thought to catch his enemy the coming evening, and provided himself with a shirt of mail

and a head-piece. When the time was come, Bucciuolo, who knew nothing of all this, went in his simplicity to the master, and said I am going: the other replied, Go, and come and tell me to-morrow morning how thou hast sped. Bucciuolo replied that he would do so, and straightway set out for the house of the lady. The husband took his arms and followed him, almost at his heels, and thought to catch him at the door, but the lady who was waiting, and saw her lover arrive, opened to him, and locked him in. When the master came he knocked at the door, and made a great noise, and the lady, putting out the light, and, putting Bucciuolo behind her, opened the door, and put her arm round her husband, and with the other hand pushed her lover out of the door, without her husband's perceiving it. Then she began to cry Help, help, the master is mad, holding him tightly embraced all the while. The neighbours at this rumour running up, and seeing him thus armed, and hearing the lady cry out that he was mad from overmuch study, imagined that it was as she said, and began to say to him, What is this, master? go to bed and to sleep, and do not disturb yourself further. He said, How should I go to sleep when this wretched woman has a man in the house, for I saw him go in myself? Alas, said she, ask all these our neighbours if they ever saw an ill act of mine. All the women and men too answered, Master, think no such thing as this, for there never was born a better woman, nor of more careful conduct, nor of better fame. How, said he, when I saw him go in with my own eyes, and know surely that he is there? Meanwhile came in the lady's two brothers; whereupon she began incontinent to weep, and said, O my brothers, this husband of mine is mad, and will have it that I have a man in the house, and nothing will satisfy him but that he will kill me, and you know well if I am a woman to do such a thing. The brothers said to him, It is a wonderful thing to us that you should call our sister incontinent; and we marvel what moves you thereto now of all times when she has been your wife so long. But the master only repeated, I tell you there is a man in the house, and I saw him. The brothers answered, We will look, and, if we find it as you have said, we will so expose and punish her, that you shall be contented: and one of them called his sister, and said to her, Tell me truly hast thou any one here in the house? She replied, O me, what is it thou askest! Christ keep me therefrom, and grant that I may die before I have a part of me that could think such a thing. Oh me, should I do what no woman of our house has ever done? are you not ashamed even to speak of such a thing to me? Whereat the brother was well pleased, and they two and the master began to search together. The master went straight to those clothes, piercing them with

his sword, fighting with Bucciuolo, or believing at least that he was among the linen. She said, Did I not tell you he was mad ; see how he is spoiling the clothes : and they, seeing what he did, were persuaded that he was mad ; and when they had searched every thing there, and found nothing, one of the brothers said as he thought : and the other said, Master, master, in good truth, you are doing a shameful thing, to be making out our sister an adulteress. Whereat the master, who was enraged, and knew how much he was in the right, began to grow very angry at them, all the while holding his naked sword in his hand ; wherefore they took each in hand a stout cudgel, and beat him till they broke the cudgels over his back. They then chained him like a madman, saying that he had lost his senses by over-much study, and kept him bound all that night, while they and their sister went to sleep. And in the morning they sent for the physician, who told them to make him a bed before the fire, and not to let him speak to any body, and that they should give him no answer if he spoke, but should keep him on low diet until his intellect was cleared ; all which was done. The rumour went through Bologna how this professor had gone mad, and all were very sorry for it, one saying to another, Indeed, I saw this yesterday, for he could not give us our lecture. Another said, I saw him change countenance all at once. So all agreed that he was indeed out of his senses, and so they went altogether to visit him. Bucciuolo, knowing nothing of all this, came to the school, meaning to tell his master what had happened to him ; but, when he came to the school, he was told how the master had gone out of his senses. At this he marvelled, and was much grieved, and went along with the others to visit him. And as they came to the master's house, Bucciuolo was more astonished than ever any man in this world, and was ready to faint seeing how the case stood ; but, that no one might perceive any thing, he went in together with the others. And coming into the room, he saw the master all bruised and chained lying on a bed before the fire ; whereat all the scholars condoled with their master, saying how much they were grieved to see this. So it came to Bucciuolo's turn to say something also, wherefore he said, Master, I am as sorry for you as if you were my father, and, if I can do any thing for your pleasure, dispose of me as if I were your son. The master answered, Bucciuolo, Bucciuolo, go in God's name, for thou hast learnt well at my expense. The lady said, Heed not his words, for he is wandering, and knows not what he is saying. Bucciuolo took his leave, and came to Pietro Paolo, and said to him, Brother, make ready to go in God's name, for I have learnt so much that I wish to learn no more. And then he departed, and came safely to Rome.



3. *The Story of Lucius and Camillus.*



[The following story is reprinted from a scarce collection of early English tales, entitled, "The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers," 4^o, London, 1632, of which there are, according to Steevens, several impressions. One of a much later date is preserved in Capell's Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. The names of the characters are altered, but it is merely an abridged translation of the preceding article.]

Two friends went to study at Bologna, in Italy. One of them would needs learn of a Doctor the art of making love. The Doctor taught him, but it was at his cost. For his scholar try'd his art upon his wife, to whom he made love in the manner you will find here related.

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fine Camillus, having ended his studies sooner than Lucius, intended to return to Rome ; and had infallibly been gone, if Lucius had not conjur'd him, by all the tenderness of the friendship that was between them, to stay and pass away the winter with him there, that they might both return together the next spring. To be short, Camillus yielded to Lucius his intreaties, and resolved upon staying. But, that he might not pass away all his time in idleness, he had a great mind to learn some other science ; and, in order to this design, he thus accosted his professor : The friendship, Doctor, which I have for Lucius, obliges me to stay here till next spring. If during this time you will do me the kindness to instruct me in some noble science, I will receive your instructions with joy, and it may be with success. Doubt not any thing on my part, answer'd the Doctor, I am ready to teach you whatsoever you shall please to learn. It is the art of making love, reply'd Camillus, which I desire to learn. I am yet but a novice, and I would fain acquire a handsom air, and gentile garb of gallantry. Ah ! reply'd again the Doctor, this is a noble art indeed, an art which hath its rules and maxims, and which comes very near to poleticks. It is a science wherein I can safely boast my self an expert person ; and, if you have a mind to become as great a proficient as my self, follow my precepts boldly.

What course shall I then take ? said Camillus. Go, answer'd the Doctor, one morning or some Festival day, to the Church of the Cordeliers, at the time of High Mass. Take particular cognisance of the ladies which you shall see there ; and, as you go out of the Church, follow her whom you like best, and lose not the sight of her till you see her at home. When you have housed her, come to me again.

Camillus lost no time. The next day he went to Church very early in the morning, where he posted

himself in a place very commodious to see the ladies, and to be seen of them. He took notice of one among the rest, who pleased him extremely. She had a round visage, black eyes, a brisk and delicate complexion, a little and well shaped mouth, a bosom representing two globes of alabaster, an indifferent stature, and well compacted. In fine, she was the epitome of all the charms and perfections that an amorous person could be taken with. He went out of the Church with her, and lost not the sight of her, till she was enter'd into her house. The lady all this while, who had taken notice in the Church of the amorous glances he had directed to her, concluded thereupon herself to be the object of his inclination.

Camillus immediately went to the Doctor to take new measures from him. The Doctor, who suspected nothing of his own wife, heard with great pleasure the report his disciple made to him of his transactions. In fine, he advis'd him to make two or three turns modestly before the house of the lady, whom he had follow'd. As soon as you see her, said he, salute her with a profound respect, to make her understand the passion which you have for her. But take your time, and do it in such a manner as not to be discover'd by any body but her self. After that, come again to me.

The lover followed his masters advice, passed modestly before the ladies house, cast his secret regards, and as he passed by, took the liberty to salute her. Which he did with a most profound respect, and at a time when there were no passengers in the street. Camillus, who was a man of a good presence, had the good fortune to please this lady. She cast attentive regards upon him, and return'd his salutation with a sweet and amiable eye. And what could Camillus conclude from these complaisances, but that this lady had a particular love for him? And indeed he found himself not deceived.

All transported with joy, he went to inform the Doctor of his good fortune. The Doctor applauded his conduct, and promis'd him a prosperous success. And, the better to carry on the affair, he advised him to an amorous letter to the lady, and to intrust it in the hands of one of those women who use to go from house to house to vend their wares, and under that pretext are easily admitted to the most private concerns of the ladies.

Camillus immediately put pen to paper, and imploy'd one of these female letter-carriers. She undertook the business; but what success she had you will wonder to hear. She was so far from making much of this woman, that she treated her with a thousand reproachful expressions, and threw the letter in her face. What do you take me for? said she, you old wretch, know my vertue is proof against all your stratagems. You had better pack away with speed, and must not hope to find the penny-worths you gape so much after

The poor woman, who was afraid of being ill handled, as well as ill treated with the tongue, packed up her bag and baggage, and away she trotted. She went presently, and gave Camillus an account of her success. Who was not a little surprized thereat, and concluded from thence, that this lady was too severe to be ever brought to his bow.

Upon this he went again to the Doctor's house, and with a melancholy tone recounted to him all that had passed. The Doctor bid him not be troubled, telling him that the tree is not fell'd with one stroke, and advis'd for all this not to fail to make another onset. Go, said he, again, and take some turns before this ladies door, and observe very well what her countenance is toward you.

So said, so done. Our lover takes heart of grace, and presently steers his course again to his mistresses

house. The lady no sooner saw him, but she commanded her chambermaid to go after him, and to tell him from her, that if he would come that night to the garden door, she would speak with him. The maid, staying near the Church, and waiting his coming by, desir'd him to go along with her into the Church, for that she had something of importance to communicate to him. Camillus, though somewhat surpriz'd, however went into the Church after the maid. Who, taking him aside into a by-place, told him what she had to impart to him from her lady, and desir'd him of all loves not to fail being present at the time and place appointed. Camillus, all transported with joy, assured her he would not fail to go and receive her ladies commands, at the hour she had appointed him.

In the interim he return'd to his Doctor, to render him an account of what had passed, and to make him a partaker of his good fortune. It was at this time that the Doctor kept himself up close in the academy, because the days being short, he was obliged to read to his scholars by night. So that Camillus found him in the academy, where the Doctor was pleased to hear the success of this last adventure. But, as he was a person naturally inclin'd to jealousy (a passion extraordinarily reigning in Italy) he oftentimes revolved in his mind the description Camillus had made to him of this lady; insomuch that it came into his head, that possibly it might be his own wife. The good man, who was pretty well in years, knew that his wife had cause enough to complain. In fine, he doubted very much, lest the gallant had learnt this science of him at his cost. Thereupon he resolv'd to follow him at a distance, after he had in form'd him of the nearest way to his mistresses house. Camillus put on a coat of a mail, and went arm'd with sword and dagger to defend himself against all assaults.

Our gallant was no sooner arriv'd at the garden-door, but he was let in. The lady received him with open arms, and gave him a world of undoubted marks of the sincerity of her affection towards him. Sir, said she, it is no hard matter for me to recollect the time when you first did me the honour to think me worthy of your love, and you may assure yourself you have not to do with an ungrateful or cruel person. Let us quench our flames together, and enjoy such charming delights as may exceed what ever the most heroick souls have yet ere comprehended. Take not in ill part, pursued she, the manner in which I lately receiv'd your amorous lines. It was necessary to proceed in that fashion, that I might conceal my love the better. And all these love-letter-carriers are, at the bottom, but a company of mercenary souls.

The chamber-maid, having shut and bolted the door, immediately the lady conducted Camillus into her chamber. The Doctor who saw Camillus enter the garden, remain'd no longer in suspence concerning this affair. Jealousy gnaw'd upon his heart, and put him in a most desperate condition. In stead of knocking at the door, he return'd to the academy, to go and fetch his arms, that he might give the fatal blow to the ravisher of his honour. But, in regard the academy was far enough from his house, his wife and her gallant in the mean while lost no time. They satisfied their passion, while the husband was taking a course to satisfy his revenge. In fine, the Doctor arrived, and knock'd at the gate with an authority no less than that of master of the house. The maid look'd out at the window, knew her master's voice, and presently went and informed her mistress thereof.

Judge then in what confusion and disorder, and what a peck of troubles these lovers were in. The maid, the better to give her mistress time to hide her gallant, made use of this trick. As she went down

stairs in great haste, she pretended to fall; and, in the counterfeit fall, out went the candle. So that she was forc'd to go, and light it again. All this took up time, and gave opportunity to dispose of the lover in a place of security. Mean while the Doctor raps at the door with all his force. At last the maid comes, and opens it; but, as she opens it, feigns her self hurt. In rushes the Doctor, with sword in hand, runs presently up to his wives chamber, and roundly asks where the young gallant was, whom he saw enter the garden-gate?

His wife, seeming much startled at the question, answer'd There was nobody in the house but herself and her maid; that he might search all about; and, if he found his suspicion true, she would freely be content to suffer the utmost punishment could be inflicted. Upon these words, the good man takes the candle, and looks all about in every nook and corner. His jealousy carries him into every place, into the barn, into the cellar, into the garden. And, as he went thus looking in vain, and found nothing, his wife went after him with a candle in her hand, still redoubling her protestations, which made him apt to think at last that all was but meer illusion.

Thus the Doctor put up his sword in his scabbard, and gave the candle into his maids hands. He fancied, that it being somewhat dark, and he at a pretty distance when he thought he saw the gallant enter, possibly the young man might have entered into some neighbour's house. In fine, he concludes happily for his wife and gallant, that he might be deceiv'd. With these thoughts he return'd again to the academy, purposing next morning to inform himself better in this affair by his disciple.

Mean while Camillus creeps out of his prison, the gates were made fast again, and a good supper prepared. Supper being ready, they repair to the table;

and supper ended, to bed. As soon as it was light, Camillus bethought himself of retiring ; but before the fair one made him promise to come to her again the night following.

Our gallant, as soon as he had dispatch'd some other affairs of his, return'd to the academy, where he recited to his Doctor the pleasures he had enjoy'd with his mistress, and the troubles he had been put to through the pursuit of a jealous husband. The Doctor, who put a good face upon the business, and made the best of a bad market, ask'd him in what place he had been hidden? Camillus answer'd him, that he had been hidden in a heap of linnen which was but half dry.¹ In conclusion, he expressed his high obligation to the Doctor, for that by his instructions he had gain'd possession of a lady, whose beauty far surpass'd all the beauties of the town. Moreover, he protested, that the goddess of love and beauty had not a body more curiously framed than hers. At length he informed the Doctor, that in the evening he was to go again, and to pass the following night with her. And, as he had taken but little repose the foregoing night, he said he would go and take some rest, to the end he might be the better enabled to perform his duty the night following. The Doctor thereupon intreated him to come again, and see him, before he went to his mistress. Camillus promis'd he would, and so they parted.

The Doctor began to have his eyes opened, before Camillus had time to shut his. He was hardly able to contain himself, while Camillus was yet speaking ; and his jealousy seized so strongly upon his spirit, that he could scarce make his lecture to his scholars.

¹ See Malone's *Shakespeare* by Boswell, vol. viii., p. 210. From this Malone thinks it highly probable that *Shakespeare* had read this tale. I suppose he conjectures that an earlier edition was published than any now known.

His heart was even transported with grief, and he had no consolation but in his hopes of revenging himself upon the dishonesty of his wife and her gallant.

Evening being come, Camillus came to see him, and to tell him he was just going. Go in a good hour, said the Doctor, and to-morrow morning fail not to come again, and give me an account of your adventures. But the gallant was no sooner gone, but the Doctor, all armed as he was, threw his cloak over his shoulders, and follow'd him fair and softly. He thought to overtake him by that time he got to the garden-door. But the fair one, who with impatience expected his arrival, as soon as she discern'd it was her lover, let him in, and shut the door after him.

Presently after arriv'd the Doctor, knockt at the door with all his might, and made a horrible outcry. His wife putting Camillus behind her, asked who was there? The Doctor, storming and making a fearful noise, commanded her to open. As she open'd the door she put out the candle, took her husband in with one hand, and with the other thrust Camillus out, who nimbly made his escape. As good luck would have it, the Doctor perceiv'd nothing. The Lady immediately began to cry out for help, as fearing he would kill her, and expecting the succor of the neighbourhood, she and her maid held the good man fast by the arms. The neighbours, all alarm'd, came in from all parts. They beheld the Dr armed cap-a-pe, a spectacle sufficiently surprizing. His wife made him pass for a lunatick,¹ and told the neighbours her husband was grown mad with over-much study. They, seeing him in that posture, easily believed her. And, while they used all their endeavours

¹ "This is lunatics! this is mad as a mad dog!" observes Evans, alluding to Ford's jealousy.—See "Merry Wives of Windsor," act. iv. sc. 2.

to persuade him to go and repose him, I repose my selfe, said the Doctor, at a time when this wicked woman keeps a gallant lockt up in my house, a gallant whom with my own eyes I saw enter. Unhappy woman that I am, reply'd his wife, to have to do with such a husband! Ask all the neighbours, if ever they saw any ill action by me. Pray, Mr Doctor, said all the good neighbours, be not over-hasty to entertain any such thought of your wife. Certainly you deceive yourself, and the lady is too honest for you to have any such suspicion of her. You know not, said he, what you say: for my part I saw a man enter here a while ago, and know who he is. It is the same person who came hither last night, and I thought to surprize, but that this wicked woman hid him under a great heap of linnen.

As he was going on in his speech, in come his wife's brothers, whom she had sent out for. As soon as ever she saw them, she went to them with her eyes all bathed in tears, and thus address'd her speech to them. Assist me, my dear brothers, in this unhappy condition to which you see me now reduced. My husband is become mad, and hath a design to murder me. A conceit is entered into his pate, that I keep a man here for my pleasure. I leave it to you to judge, whether I am such a person as he would have me thought to be. The brothers immediately discourse the Doctor, and blame him for his folly and injustice. I am certain, said the Doctor, there is a man here, whom this impudent woman let in before my face not above an quarter of an hour since.

See if it be so, said the brothers; and, if we find him here, assure yourself, Doctor, we will chastise our sister according to her merit. Upon this one of them took his sister aside, and pray'd her, if she had any person concealed in the house, to confess it, to the end she might save her honour. His sister, who

knew well enough there was no body, protested she was altogether innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and that she would willingly suffer death, if they found her culpable. Her brother was extremely satisfi'd with her answer.

In fine, the Doctor, and his wives brothers, having placed the neighbours at the gate of the house to hinder this pretended gallant from making his escape, went and made search in every corner of the house. They came at last to the heap of linnen which was still remaining in the fair one's chamber, where Camillus had been concealed the night before. The Doctor made no question but to find his wives gallant in the heap of linnen, takes out the linnen piece by piece, but found not the person he lookt for.¹ His wife presently began to cry out, Do you not see now plainly, that he is mad? It is but too evident, answer'd one of them. If he have not lost his senses, said another of them, we must needs conclude him to be a very naughty man, thus to disgrace our sister as he hath done.

Mean while the Doctor, knowing very well how the case stood, brake forth into a rage, and having his sword still drawn in his hand, began to run at his brothers-in-law. They having none of them a sword, took each of them a good cudgel, and having first disarmed him, belabour'd him in a most severe manner. This done, they bound him as a madman; and, for fear any misfortune should happen, lodged themselves in the house. The next morning they sent for a physician, who ordered that no body should speak to him, and that he should be kept to a diet.

Presently news was spread through the whole town, that the Dr was run mad, and upon this report a

¹ The reader will at once perceive the strong similarity between this scene and Ford's examination of the buck-basket.

thousand reflexions were made. Don't you remember, said one of his scholars to another, that yesterday he could not go on with his lecture to us? Truly, said the other, the Doctor seem'd very much altered from what he used to be, so that in effect he appear'd clear another man. Camillus all this while knew nothing of all this, till such time as he came again to the academy, to give the Doctor an account of his last adventure. Then it was that he understood from the scholars, that the Doctor had lost his senses, and that he lay chain'd up in his own house. He shewed himself very much troubled at the news, and took a resolution with some other of the scholars to go and give him a visit.

Our gallant was very much startled, when he saw the Doctor all battered and bruised with striving to break his chains, and lying upon a bed by the fire-side. He was ready to drop down at the sight of so sad a spectacle; but the Doctor's wife being there took Camillus aside, and recited all that had passed. As for Camillus, he then first began to understand that it was from her husband he had received all his instructions of love.

All the intrigue being discover'd between them, Camillus was thinking to retire, and not see the Doctor any more. But his mistriss perswaded him to go in again, well knowing that what ever the Doctor could possibly say, the company would never give any credit to the word of a person that went for a mad-man. Camillus then approached the Doctor, and testified very much sorrow to see him in that condition. The Doctor looking upon him with a fierce look, The Devil take you, said he, Camillus, don't come hither to mock me. You have very well learnt the art of love at my cost. My dear cavalier, said the Doctor's wife, take no heed to what he saith, for he is out of his wits. Thou hast good reason, in-

famous woman, said the Doctor, to call him thy cavalier.

At these words the lady tipt Camillus a wink with her eye, to follow her into her chamber. Where, in regard Lucius had taken a firm resolution to part within two days, he advertis'd his mistriss thereof. Who thereupon was most desperately afflicted, conjured and importuned him of all loves to stay. But he could not be prevailed with. In fine, after many tender endearments, and reciprocal promises of eternal love, Camillus took leave of his mistriss. At parting he put a diamond ring upon her finger, and she on the other side took off a chain of gold from her neck, and pray'd him to keep it as a pledge of her love. Soon after, redoubling their kisses and embraces, they took leave of each other.

The morrow after Camillus obliged Lucius to be gone. And, as they were upon the way in their journey, he imparted the story of his adventures to him; and so by little journeys they arrived in their due time at Rome.



4. *The Story of Nerino of Portugal.*

—o—

[From "*Le tredici piacevoli notti*," del S. Gio. Fr. Straparola,
8^o., Vineg. 1569, vol. i., folio 129.]

SONO molti dilettevoli donne i quali per aver lungo tempo dato opera al studio delle buone lettere si pensano molte cose e sapere e poi ò nulla ò poco sanno. E mentre questi tali credonsi segnare il fronte, a se stesse cavano gli occhi siccome avvenne ad un medico molto scientiato nell'arte sua il quale persuadendosi d'altrui uccellare fu non senza suo grave danno ignominiosamente uccellatto, si come per la presente favola che raccontarvi intendo potrete pienamente comprendere. Galesse re di Portogallo hebbe un figliuolo Nerino per nome chiamato, et in tal maniera fl fece nudrire ch'egli (sino a tanto che non pervenisse all' decim'ottavo anno della sua età) non potesse vedere donna alcuna se non la madre e la balia che lo nudricava. Venuto adunque Nerino alla età perfetta determinò il re di mandarlo in studio a Padova accioche egli imparasse le lettere latine la lingua e i costumi Italiani e così come egli determinò così fece. Hora essendo il giovane Nerino in Padova e havendo presa amicitia di molti scolari che quotidianamente il corteggiavano avvenne che tra questi v'era un medico

che maestro Raimondo Brunello Fisico si nominava et sovente ragionando tra loro diverse cose si misero (come è usanza di giovani) a ragionare della bellezza delle donne e chi diceva l'una e chi l'altra cosa. Ma Nerino percioche per lo adietro non haveva venduta donna alcuna eccetto la madre e la balia sua animosamente diceva che per suo giudicio non si trovava al mondo donna che fusse piu bella piu leggiadra e piu attilata che la madre sua. Et essendone state a lui dimostrate molte, tutte come carogne a comparazione della madre sua, reputava. Maestro Raimondo ch'aveva una moglie delle belle donne che mai la natura facesse postosi la gorgghiera delle ciancie disse. S. Nerino io ho veduta una donna di tal bellezza che quando voi la vedeste forse non la riputareste meno anzi piu bella della madre vostra. A cui rispose Nerino ch'egli credere non lo poteva ch'ella fosse piu formosa della madre sua ma che ben harebbe piacere di vederla. A cui disse maestro Raimondo quando vi sia a grado di vederla mi offerisco di mostrarvela. Di questo (rispose Nerino) ne sarò molto contento e vi rimarrò obligato. Disse allora M. Raimondo. Poiche vi piace di vederla verrete domattina nella chiesa del domo che vi prometto che la vedrete. Et andatosene a casa disse alla moglie. Domane lievati di letto per tempo, et acconciati il capo e fatti bella e vestiti honoratissimamente percioè io voglio che tu vadi nell'ora della messa solenne del domo ad udir l'officio. Genobbia (così era il nome della moglie di messer Raimondo) non essendo usa di andar hor quinci hor quindi ma la maggior parte si stava in casa a cucire e ricamere molto di questo si maravigliò ma percioche così egli voleva et era il desiderio suo ella così fece e si mise in punto e conciossi si fattamente che non donna anzi Dea pareva. Andatasene adunque Genobbia nel sacro tempio si come il marito l'haveva imposto

venne Nerino figliuolo del re in chiesa e veduta Genobbia tra se stesso bellissima la giudicò. Partita la bella Genobbia sopraggiunse maestro Raimondo e accostatosi a Nerino disse. Hor che vi pare di quella donne che hora e partita di chiesa? parvi ch'ella patisba oppositione alcuna? E ella piu bella della madre vostra? Veramente disse Nerino ch'ella è bella e la natura piu bella far non la potrebbe. Ma ditemi per cortesia di cui è ella moglie e dove habita? A cui maestro Raimondo non rispose a verso, per cioche dirglielo non voleva. Allora disse Nerino. Maestro Raimondo mio se voi non volete dirmi chi ella sia e dove habita almeno contentatemi di questo ch'io un' altra fiata la vegga. Ben volontieri rispose M. Raimondo. Dimane verrete qua in chiesa e io farò sì che come hoggi la vedrete. Et andatosene a casa M. Raimondo disse alla moglie Genobbia apparecchiate per domattina che io voglio che tu vadi a messa nel domo e se mai tu ti festi bella e pomposamente vestisti fa che dimane il facci. Genobbia di ciò come prima stavasi maravigliosa. Ma per cioche importava il comandamento del marito ella fece tanto quanto per lui imposto le fu. Venuto il giorno Genobbia riccamente vestita e vie piu del solito ornata in chiesa se n'andò. E non stette molto che Nerino venne il qual veggendola bellissima tanto del lei amore s'infiammò quanto mai uomo di donna facesse. Et essendo giunto maestro Raimondo Nerino lo prego che egli dir li dovesse chi era costei che sì bella agli occhi suoi pareva. Ma fingendo Maestro Raimondo di haver pressa per rispetto delle pratiche sue nulla allora dir gli volse, ma lasciato il giovane cuocersi nel suo unto lietamente si partì. La onde Nerino alquanto d'ira acceso per lo poco conto che maestro Raimondo haveva mostrato farsi di lui tra se stesso disse. Tu non vuoi ch'io sappia chi ella sia, e dove habiti et io lo

saprò a tuo malgrado. Et uscito della chiesa tanto aspettò che la bella donna ancor uscì della chiesa fuori e fattali riverenza con modesto mode e volto allegro fino a casa l'accompagnò. Havendo adunque Nerino chiaramente compresa la casa dove ella habitava, cominciò vagheggiarla ne sarebbe passato un giorno che egli non fusse dieci volte passato dinanzi la casa sua. E desiderando di parlar con lei andava imaginandosi che via egli potesse tenere par laquale l'onor della donna rimanesse salvo et egli ottenesse lo intento suo. Et havendo pensato e ripensato ne trovando alcun remedio che salutifero li fusse pur tanto fantasticò che gli venne fatto di haver l'amicitia d'una vecchiarella la quale aveva la sua casa all'incontro di quella di Genobbia. Et fattole certi presentuzzi et confermata la stretta amicitia secretamente se ne andava in casa sua. Haveva la casa di questa vecchiarella una finestra la quale guardava nella sala della casa di Genobbia e per quella a suo bel agio poteva vederla andare sù e quì per casa ma non voleva scoprirsi per non darle materia di non lasciarsi piu vedere. Stando dunque Nerino ogni giorno in questo segreto vagheggiamento nè potendo resistere all'ardente fiamma che gli abbruciava il cuore deliberò tra se stesso di scriverle una lettera e gettargliela in casa a tempo che li paresse che'l marito non fusse in casa. Et così gliela gettò. Et questo egli piu volte fece. Ma Genobbia senza altrimenti leggerla ne altro pensando la gettava nel fuoco e l'abbruciava. Et quantunque ella avesse tal effetto fatto piu fiate, pur una volta le parve di aprirgliene una e veder quello che dentro si conteneva. Et apertala et veduto come il scrittore era Nerino figliuolo del Re di Portogallo dil ei fieramente innamorato, stette al quanto sopra di se ma poi considerando alla mala vita che'l marito suo le dava fece

buon animo e cominciò far buona ciera a Nerino e dato buon ordine lo introdusse in casa e il giovane le raccontò il sommo amore, ch'egli le portava; et i tormenti che per lei ogn'ora sentiva e parimente il modo come fusse di lei innamorato. Et ella che bella piacevole e pietosa era il suo amore non gli negò. Essendo dunque ambeduo d'un reciproco amore congiunti, et stando ne gli amorosi ragionamenti ecco maestro Raimondo picchiare a l'uscio. Ilche Genobbia sentendo fece Nerino coricarsi sopra il letto e stese le cortine ivi dimorare sino a tanto che'l marito si partisse. Entrato il marito in casa e prese alcune sue cosette senza avedersene di cosa alcuna si partì. Et altresì fece Nerino. Venuto il giorno seguente et essendo Nerino in piazza a passeggiare per aventura passò maestro Raimondo a cui Nerino fece di cenno che gli voleva parlare e accostatosi a lui li disse. Messere non vi ho io da dir una buona novella? Et che disse maestro Raimondo? Non so io (disse Nerino) la casa di quella bellissima Madonna? Et non sono io stato in piacevoli ragionamenti con esse lei e perciò che il suo marito venne a casa ella mi nascose nel letto e tirò le cortine accioche egli vedermi non potesse e subito si partì. Disse maestro Raimondo è possibil questo? Rispose Nerino possibile e il vero ne mai vidi la piu festevole ne la piu gratiata donna di lei. Se per caso messere mio voi andaste a lei fate che mi raccomandate pregandola che la mi conservi nella sua buona gratia. A cui maestro Raimondo promesse di farlo e di mala voglia di lui si partì. Ma prima disse a Nerino gli tornarete piu? A cui rispose Nerino pensatel voi. Et andatosene maestro Raimondo a casa non volse dir cosa alcuna alla moglie ma aspettare il tempo di ritrovarli insieme, yenuto il giorno seguente Nerino a Genobbia ritornò e mentre stavano in amorosi piaceri e dilettevoli ragionamenti venne a casa il marito.

Ma ella subito nascose Nerino in una cassa a rimpetto della quale pose molte robbe ch'ella sborrava acciò che non si tarmassino. Il marito fingendo di cercare certe sue cose, gettò sottasopra tutta la casa e guatando sino nel letto e nulla trovando con piu riposato animo si partì e alle sue pratiche se n'andò. Et Nerino parimente si partì. Et ritrovato maestro Raimondo gli disse. Signor dottore non sono io ritornato da quella gentildonna? e la invidiosa fortuna mi ha disconzo ogni piacere, perciò che il lei marito sopra giunse e disturbò il tutto. E come facesti disse Maestro Raimondo? Ella (rispose Nerino) prese una cassa e mi pose dentro e a rimpetto della cassa pose molte vestimenta ch'ella governava che non si tarmassino. Et egli il letto sottosopra volgendo e rivolgendo e nulla trovando si partì. Quanto questa cosa tormentosa fusse a maestro Raimondo pensare il puo chiunque ha provato amore. Haveva Nerino a Genobbia donato un bello e pretioso diamante il quale dentro le legature nell'oro haveva scolpito il capo e nome suo; e venuto il giorno e essendo M. Raimondo andato alle sue pratiche Nerino fu dalla donna in casa introdotto e stando con esso lei in piaceri e grati ragionamenti ecco il marito che ritorno a casa. Ma Genobia cattivella veggendosi della venuta sua immanentemente aperse un scrigno grande ch'era nella sua camera e dentro lo nascose. Et maestro Raimondo entrato in casa, fingendo di cercare certe sue cose rivolse la camera sotto sopra e nulla trovando ne in letto ne nelle casse come sbalordito prese il fuoco et a tutti i quattro cantoni della camera lo pose con determinato animo d'abbrusciar la camera e tutto cio che in quella si conteneva. Già i parieti e travamenta cominciavano ardere quando Genobbia voltatasi contra il marito disse. Che vuol dir questo marito mio? Siete forse voi divenuto pazzo? Se pur voi volete abbrusciare la casa, brusciatela in

vostro piacere ma in fede mia non abbrusciarete quel scrigno dove sono le scritture che appartengono alla dote mia? E fatti chiamare quattro valenti bastagi gli fece trahere di casa lo scrigno e ponerlo in casa della vicina vecchiarella, e celatamente l'apri che niuno se n'avide e ritornossene a casa. L'insensato maestro Raimondo stava pur a vedere se usciva fuori alcuno che non gli piacesse ma nulla vedeva se non l'insopportabile fumo e ardente fuoco che la casa abbrusciava. Erano già concorsi i vicini per estinguer il fuoco e tanto si operarono che finalmente lo spensero. Il giorno seguente Nerino andando verso il Prato dalla Valle in maestro Raimondo si abbattè e salutandolo disse maestro mio, non vi ho io da raccontare una cosa che molto vi piacerà? Et che? rispose maestro Raimondo? Io (disse Nerino) ho fuggito il piu spaventevole pericolo che mai fuggisse huomo che porti vita. Andai a casa di quella gentil madonna e dimorando con esso lei in piacevoli ragionamenti sopraggiunse il suo marito il quale dopò c'hebbe rivolta la casa sottosopra, accese il fuoco e poselo in tutti i quattro cantoni della camera e abbrusciò ciò che era in camera. Et voi (disse maestro Raimondo) dove eravate? io (rispose Nerino) era nascoso nel scrigno che ella fuori di casa mandò. Il che maestro Raimondo intendendo, e conoscendo ciò che egli raccontava esser il vero, da dolore e passione si sentiva morire ma pur non osava scoprirsi per cioche desiderava di vederlo nel fatto. E dissegli. Signor Nerino vi ritornarete voi mai piu? a cui rispose Nerino. Havendo io scampato il fuoco di che piu temenza debbo io havere? Hor messi da canto questi ragionamenti, Maestro Raimondo prego Nerino che si degnasse di andare il giorno seguente a desinar seco, il giovane accettò volontieri l'invito. Venuto il giorno seguente, maestro Raimondo invitò tutti i suoi parenti e quelli della moglie ancora e apparecchiò un pom-

posò e superbo prandio in un'altra bellissima casa e comandò alla moglie che ancor ella venisse ma che non dovesse sedere a mensa ma che stesse nascosta e preparasse quello che faceva mestieri. Raunati adunque tutti i parenti e il giovane Nerino furono posti a mensa e maestro Raimondo con la sua maccheronesca scienza cercò di enebriare Nerino per poter poi fare il parer suo. Laonde havendoli più volte porto maestro Raimondo il beccchiere pieno di malvatico vino, e havendolo Nerino ogni volta bevuto disse Maestro Raimondo. Deh Sig. Nerino raccontate un poco a questi parenti nostri una qualche novelluzza da ridere. Il povero giovane Nerino non sapendo che Genobbia fusse moglie di maestro Raimondo, cominciò raccontargli l'istoria riservando poi il nome di ciascuno. Avenne che una servente andò in camera dove Genobbia dimorava, e dissele. Mia donna se voi foste in un cantone nascosta, voi sentireste raccontar la più bella novella che mai udiste alla vita vostra, venite vi prego. Et andata sene in un cantone conobbe che la voce era di Nerino suo amante e che l'istoria ch'egli raccontava lei perteneva. E da donna prudente e saggia tolse il diamante che Nerino donato le haveva e poselo in una tazza d'argento piena d'una delicata bevanda, et disse al servente. Prendi questa tazza, e recala a Nerino, e digli che egli la beva che poi meglio ragionerà. Il servente presa la tazza, portolla à Nerino, e dissegli. Pigliate questa tazza e bevete signore che poi meglio ragionerete. Et egli presa la tazza bevè tutto il vino e veduto e conosciuto il diamante che vi era dentro lo lasciò andar in bocca, e fingendo di nettarsi la bocca, lo trasse fuori, e se lo mise in dito. Et accortosi Nerino che la bella donna di cui ragionava era moglie di maestro Raimondo più oltre passare non volse et stimolato da maestro Raimondo, e da i parenti che l'istoria cominciata seguisse egli rispose. Et si

et si cantò il gallo e subito fu di e dal sonno risvegliato altro più non vidi. Questo udendo i parenti di Maestro Raimondo e prima credendo che tutto quello che Nerino gli aveva detto della moglie esser vero trattarono l'uno e l'altro da grandissimi embriachi. Dopo alquanti giornì Nerino trovò maestro Raimondo et fingendo di non sapere che egli fosse marito di Genobbia dissegli che fra due giorni era per partirsi, percioche il padre scritto gli aveva, ch'a tutto tornasse nel suo reame. Maestro Raimondo li rispose che fosse il ben andato. Nerino messo secreto ordine con Genobbia con lei se ne fuggì et in Portogallo la trasferì dove con somma allegrezza lungamente vissero. E maestro Raimondo andatosene a casa e non trovata la moglie, fra pochi giorni disperato se ne morì.

[TRANSLATION.]

THERE are many charming ladies who, because of their having long laboured in the study of letters, do think themselves to know much, and yet, for all that, know little or nothing. And these, while they think they are but making the cross on their forehead, they take out their own eyes; as happened to a physician, skilful in his profession, who, thinking to catch another, was, to his great loss, entangled himself; as, by the present fable which I am going to relate to you, you may clearly understand.

Gallese, King of Portugal, had a son named Nerino, whom he so brought up, that, till the eighteenth year of his age, he had seen no woman but his own mother, and the woman who nursed him. When Nerino had reached this age, his father resolved to send him to study at Padua, that he might learn the Latin literature, and the language and manners of Italy; and, as he had resolved, so he did. Now the young Nerino, being in Padua, and having made the acquaintance of many scholars who daily paid their court to him, it chanced that there was among them a physician named Raimondo Brunelle Fisico. These two, often discoursing with each other on various matters, began, as young men are apt to do, to speak of the beauty of women; and one said one thing, and another another. But

Nerino, who had as yet never seen any woman but his mother and his nurse, boldly declared that in his judgment there was no woman in the world more beautiful, graceful, or elegant than his mother. And, though many beautiful women were shewn him, he declared that all were ugly in comparison with her. Maestro Raimondo, who had to wife one of the most beautiful women that Nature ever made, said to him (meaning to have a jest at his expense), Signor Nerino, I have seen a lady of such loveliness, that if you were to see her you would repute her not less beautiful than your mother, perhaps even more so. To which Nerino answered, that he could not indeed credit what his friend had said, but that nevertheless it would much please him to see her. When it shall please you to do so, said Raimondo, I offer my services to shew her to you. With this, answered Nerino, I shall be much delighted, and shall be under much obligation to you for it. Then, said Messer Raimondo, since it pleases you to see her, you shall come to-morrow to the cathedral church, and there I promise to shew her to you. And going to his own house, he said to his wife, To-morrow rise by times, and order thy head-dress carefully and adorn thyself and dress thyself splendidly, for I wish thee to go and hear the solemn mass at the Cathedral. Genobbia (for so the lady of Messer Raimondo was named), not being accustomed to go hither and thither, staying mostly at home sewing and embroidering, was no little surprised at this ; but as he so wished and desired, she did as he bade her, and decked herself, and that with such skill that she appeared less a mortal than a goddess.

Genobbia then, being gone to the church, as her husband ordered, the king's son, Nerino, came thither also ; and, seeing Genobbia, thought within himself that she was certainly a most beautiful woman. When the fair Genobbia was gone, Master Raymond came up, and, accosting himself to Nerino, said, What think you now of this lady who has just gone out of the church ? think you that she will bear any rival ? is she more beautiful than your lady mother ? Truly, said Nerino, she is so beautiful that Nature could not make her so. But tell me of your courtesy, whose wife she is and where she lives. Whereto Master Raymond did not suddenly answer, as not wishing to tell him the truth. Then, said Nerino, my good Master Raymond, if you will not tell me who she is and where she lives, at least be so good as to allow that I see her again. Willingly, replied the other. Come hither to-morrow, and I will contrive that you shall see her, as you have seen her to-day.

And going home, Master Raymond said to his wife, Genobbia, prepare thyself for to-morrow, for I wish thee to go to mass

in the cathedral church ; and, if ever thou madest thyself beautiful, and wert dressed splendidly, do so to-morrow. Genobbia wondered much at this, as she had done before : but, as the command of her husband was positive, she did what he had commanded her ; and, when the day came, went to the church richly clad, and with much more ornament than she was accustomed to wear. Nor did she wait long before Nerino came, who, seeing her so very beautiful, was so inflamed with love of her as never man for woman. And Master Raymond being come, Nerino again begged that he would tell him who this was who was so beautiful in his eyes. But the physician, pretending to be in great haste upon his own business, gave him no manner of answer, but went carelessly away, leaving the youth devoured with impatience ; whence Nerino, somewhat angered by the little esteem which Master Raymond seemed to hold him in, said within himself—Thou art not willing, then, that I should know who she is and where she lives, but I will know it in spite of thee. And going out of the church, he waited till the fair lady came out too ; and, making his reverence to her, accompanied her, in modest manner and with cheerful countenance, to her own house.

Nerino having thus made out clearly the house where she lived, began to watch for and pay his court to her ; and no day passed in which he did not walk ten times before her door ; and, desiring to speak with her, he went imagining within himself how he should obtain his wish, and her honour remain uninjured. And having thought and thought again, and finding no plan by which he could accomplish his purpose, yet he took so much pains that he obtained the friendship of an old woman whose house was opposite that of Gennobia ; and, having made her certain presents, and ingratiated himself fully with her, he went into her house. The house of this old woman had a window which looked into the principal room of Gennobia's house, and by this he could, at his ease, see her go up and down in the house ; but he did not choose to discover himself, lest he should give her cause to withdraw herself from his sight.

Nerino standing, then, thus every day secretly on the watch, and being unable to resist the ardent flame which was consuming his heart, determined with himself to write her a letter, and to throw it into her house at a time when he imagined that her husband was not there. And this he did, and did, too, more than once ; but Gennobia, without reading the letters, or thinking more of them, threw them into the fire. But though she had done this many times, yet once she had a mind to open one of the letters, and to see what was in it ; and having done so, and seen that the writer was Nerino, son of the King of Portugal, who was violently in love with her, she hesitated awhile.

But considering with herself the evil life which her husband led her, she took courage, and began to encourage Nerino. Wherefore she took order to introduce him into the house; and he recounted to her the great love he bore her, and the torments he continually endured for her, and also how he came to be in love with her: and she, who was beautiful, amiable, and pitiful, did not deny him her love. Both, then, being bound by a mutual love, and standing in amorous talk, behold Master Raymond knocks at the door; hearing which, Gennobia bade Nerino lie down upon the bed, and remain there with the curtains drawn, till her husband was gone. The husband came into the house, and, taking some matters he had come to seek, departed without noticing any thing: and Nerino did the same. When the next day came, and Nerino was walking in the public place, by chance passed Master Raymond, to whom Nerino beckoned that he wished to speak to him; and, when he came up to him, said, Sir, have I not a pleasant story to tell you? What is it? said Master Raymond. Perhaps, said Nerino, I do not know the house of that most beautiful lady, nor have been engaged in the most pleasant discourse with her; and because her husband came home she hid me in the bed, and drew the curtains that he might not see me, and so he straightway departed. Is this possible? said Master Raymond. It is possible and true, replied the other, and I never saw a more festive or a more gracious lady. If you, sir, should visit her, remember me to her, praying her to keep me in her good favour. To whom the other promised that he would do so, and departed ill content with him. But, first, he said to Nerino, Will you go thither again? to which Nerino answered, You may suppose it. And Master Raymond, going home, resolved to say nothing to his wife, but to await his opportunity of finding them together.

The next day Nerino returned to Gennobia; and, whilst they were in loving discourse together, the husband came to the house, whereupon she hid her lover in a chest, before which she placed a quantity of clothes, in such a manner that they should not see him. The husband, pretending to be seeking something he had left, turned over the whole house, prying every where, even into the bed; but, finding nothing, he went away, somewhat quieter in mind, to his business, and Nerino did the same. And, meeting with the physician, Nerino said, Signor doctor, have I not returned from the house of that lady? but fortune, envious of our pleasure, spoiled it all, for her husband came upon us and disturbed every thing. And what didst thou? inquired Master Raymond. She, replied Nerino, took a chest and placed me therein, and put a number of clothes before it, which she so disposed that they should not see me; and he, turning the bed over and over, and finding nothing, went away.

How tormenting this was to Master Raymond may any one think who has experienced what a thing love is. Nerino had given to Genobbia a beautiful and precious diamond, which had his figure and name sculptured within the gold of the setting; and when day was come, and the husband was gone to his patients, Nerino was introduced by the lady into the house; and, while he was engaged in pleasant discourse with her, behold again the husband comes home. But the cunning Genobbia, aware of his coming, opened a large desk which was in her chamber, and hid him in it. And Master Raymond coming into his house, and pretending to be seeking somewhat, turned the whole room upside down, and finding nothing either in the bed or the chests, like a madman, took a light, and set fire to the room at the four corners, with firm intention to burn the room and all that was in it. The walls and beams were already on fire, when Genobbia turned to her husband and said, Husband, what is this? are you mad perhaps? if you choose to burn the house, burn it, but, by my faith, you shall not burn this desk, where are the writings belonging to my fortune. And calling four able porters, she made them take the desk from her house and put it in that of the old woman her neighbour: then she secretly opened it, so that no one should see her, and returned to her husband. The mad physician stood waiting to see if any one was coming out whom he did not choose to have within, but he saw nothing except an intolerable smoke, and a blazing fire that was burning up the whole house. By this time the neighbours were collected to extinguish it, in which at last they succeeded.

The next day, Nerino going to the Prato della Valle, fell in with Master Raymond, and, saluting him, said, Have I not a thing to tell you, master, which will please you much? And what is it? replied Master Raymond. I have escaped, said he, the greatest danger that living man ever ran. I went to the house of the fair lady, and, being in pleasant discourse with her, her husband came, and, after throwing every thing into confusion, took a light and set fire to the four corners of the chamber, to burn all that was in it. And where were you? said Master Raymond. I was hidden, said he, in the desk which she sent out of the room. Hearing which, and knowing all he said to be truth, Master Raymond was almost dead with grief and passion, but yet dare not discover himself, because he wished to find him in the fact. And he said to him, Signor Nerino, will you return thither again? to which Nerino replied, Having escaped the fire, what more should I fear?

Now, putting these discourses aside, Master Raymond begged Nerino that he would condescend to dine with him the next day, which invitation the youth willingly accepted. On the day

fixed, Master Raymond invited all his relations, and those of his wife also, and prepared a splendid and pompous banquet in another magnificent house, and bade his wife come also, but not to sit at table, but keep out of sight, and prepare what was necessary. When, then, all the guests were assembled, and Nerino among the rest, the physician tried, with all his might, to make him drunk, that he might afterwards carry into effect his design against him. To which end, having several times filled his goblet with strong wine, and Nerino having as often drunk, his host said to him, Signor Nerino, be so good as to tell these our relations some story that may make them laugh. The poor youth, not knowing that his Genobbia was the wife of his entertainer, began to tell them the story, keeping to himself, however, the name of all parties. It so happened, that a servant went into the chamber where Genobbia was, and said to her, My lady, if you were hidden in some corner, you might hear the finest story that ever you heard told in your life—I pray you come. And she, going into a hiding-place, perceived that the voice was that of Nerino, and that the story he was telling belonged to herself. Wherefore, like a prudent lady, she took the diamond which Nerino had given her, and put it in a silver cup full of a choice wine, and said to the servant, Take this cup, and carry it to Nerino, and tell him to drink it, and he will afterwards speak better. The servant took the cup, carried it to Nerino, and said to him, Take this cup, signor, and drink, and afterwards you will talk better. And he, taking the cup, drunk out the wine; and seeing and recognizing the diamond that was in it, he let it go into his mouth, and then, feigning to wipe his mouth, took it out, and put it upon his finger; and, perceiving that the lady of whom he spoke was the wife of Master Raymond, he would tell no more. But, being pressed by his host and the guests that he should go on with his story, he said, And so—and so—the cock crowed, and I woke from my dream, and saw nothing more.

Hearing this, the relations, who had imagined at first that all which Nerino had told them of the lady was true, burst into loud laughter. After some days, Nerino met Master Raymond, and, pretending not to know that he was the husband of Genobbia, told him, that within two days he should depart, because his father had written to him, to say that, by all means, he should return into his kingdom. Master Raymond bade him good speed; and Nerino, taking secret order with Genobbia, fled with her, and took her to Portugal, where they lived in great happiness many years. And Master Raymond, going to his house, and not finding his wife there, within a few days died of despair.



5. *The Tale of the two Lovers of Pisa, and why they were whipped in Purgatory with nettles.*

—o—

[From Tarlton's "Newes out of Purgatorie," 4^o, London, for Edward White, [1590,] p. 42, taken from the preceding novel of Straparola.¹ Dr Farmer is of opinion that the adventures of Falstaff are taken from this story.—*Halliwel*.²

"The Two Lovers of Pisa," was printed at an early date in a tract called "Tarlton's News out of Purgatory." This novel is not, as has been usually supposed and asserted, a translation from "Il Pecorone" of Giovanni Fiorentino, but more properly from "Le tredici Piacevoli Notti" of Straparola. The two Italian tales have, however, a strong resemblance; and a comparison of them has been rendered easy, because both are contained in the present series. The main incident, however, of concealing a lover in a heap of family linen, as Falstaff is hidden in the buck-basket, is found in "Il Pecorone," and is not in the story as related by Straparola: the words of Giovanni are worth repeating:—"La donna era à sedere al fuoco con Buccivolo, e sentendo bussar l'uscio, subitamente si pensò che fosse il maestro, e presse Buccivolo, e nascose lo sotto un monte di panni di bucato, i quali non erano ancora rasciutti, e per lo tempo gli haveva ragunati in su una tavola à pie d'una finestra" (p. 21 *infra*.) This important circumstance is preserved in another production, as far as we now know, of a date considerably subsequent to the time of Shakespeare, but of which there may have been an earlier edition, although the style seems more modern than the close of the sixteenth century: it is called "The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers," 4^o, 1632, and it has been referred to by Steevens. Mr Halliwell informs us (p. 33) that a copy

¹ [The text has now been collated with Malone's copy of the original.]

² [Bodl. Libr. Malone 152.]

of a much later date is preserved among Capell's books in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and he is quite correct, for it was, in fact, reprinted in 1685.

"Tarlton's News out of Purgatory" is silent respecting the half-dry clothes from the wash, so that, if Shakespeare derived the incident from the Italian, it must have been from the original novel in "*Le Pecorone*," or from some early version of it with which we are not now acquainted: as we have said, the story of "*The Two Lovers of Pisa*" bears a much closer resemblance to Straparola than to Giovanni Fiorentino. Richard Tarlton, as many of our readers are aware, was a very celebrated actor, who died not long after the date when it is probable Shakespeare came to London: he was buried in 1588, and his extraordinary popularity long survived him. The "*News out of Purgatory*" must have been printed soon after his decease, perhaps in 1589: it has no date on the title-page, but in 1590 came out in answer to it, called "*The Cobler of Caunterburie*, or an Invective against Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie," of which a second edition appeared in 1608, a third in 1620 with the title varied, and a fourth under a new name, "*The Tinker of Turvey*" (with some alterations at the beginning and end, in order to give it the appearance of a different work) in 1630. The truth is, that although "*The Cobler of Caunterburie*" professes to be "*an invective against Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*," it is a direct imitation of it, in form and substance, as well as in style. However, we have here nothing to do with "*The Cobler of Caunterburie*," farther than as the printing of it with the date of 1590 ascertains that "*Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatory*," containing the Novel of "*The Two Lovers of Pisa*," was published before it.

Excepting as regards the "*buck-basket*" of Shakespeare, and the *panni di bucato* of Giovanni Fiorentino, the coincidences between the comedy and the novel are rather general than particular, consisting mainly of the manner in which a gallant takes the husband of the lady with whom he wishes to have an intrigue into his confidence, and thus obtains his assistance. Of course, we hear of no such personage as Falstaff either in Straparola or in Giovanni Fiorentino: he was, and must necessarily have been, a character of Shakespeare's invention.—*J. P. Collier.*]

IN *Pisa* a famous Cittie of *Italye*, there liued a Gentleman of good linage and landes, feared as well for his wealth, as honoured for his vertue: but indéed well thought on for both: yet y^e better for his

riches. This Gentleman had one onely Daughter called *Margaret*, who for her beauty was liked of all, and desired of many: but neither might their sutes, nor her owne preuaile about her fathers resolution, who was determynd not to marrye her, but to such a man as should be able in abundance to maintain the excellency of her beauty. Diuers yong gentlemen proffered large feoffments, but in vaine: a maide shée must bee still; till at last an olde Doctor in the towne that professed phisicke, became a sutor to her, who was a welcome man to her father, in that he was one of the welthiest men in all *Pisa*: a tall stripling he was and a proper youth, his age about fourscore; his heade as white as milke, wherein for offence sake there was neuer a tooth: but it is no matter; what he wanted in person he had in the purse; which the poore gentlewoman little regarded, wishing rather to tie her selfe to one that might fit her content, though they liued meanely, then to him with all the wealth in *Italye*. But shée was yong and forst to follow her fathers direction, who vpon large couenants was content his daughter should marry with the Doctor, and whether she likte him or no the match was made vp, and in short time she was married. The poore wench was bound to the stake and had not onely an olde impotent man: but one that was so iealous, as none might enter into his house without suspition, nor shée do any thing without blame; the least glance, the smallest countenance, any smile, was a manifest instance to him, that shée thought of others better then himselfe: thus he himselfe liued in a hell and tormented his wife in as ill perplexitie. At last it chaunced, that a young Gentleman of the Citie comming by her house, and seeing her looke out at her window, noting her rare and excellent proportion, fell in loue with her, and that so extreame, as his passions had no meanes till her fauour might mittigate

his heart sicke discontent. The yong man that was ignorant in amorous matters, and had neuer beene vsed to Courte anye Gentlewoman, thought to reueale his passions to some one freend, that might giue him counsaile for the winning of her love, and thinking experience was the surest Maister, on a daye seeing the olde Doctor walking in the Churche, that was *Margarets* Husband, little knowing who he was, he thought this was the fittest man to whom he might discouer his passions, for that hee was olde and knewe much, and was a Physition that with his drugges might helpe him forward in his purposes: so that seeing the old man walke solitary, he ioinde vnto him, and after a curteous *salute*, tolde him that he was to impart a matter of great import vnto him; wherein if hee would not only bee secrete, but indeuour to pleasure him, his paines should bee euery way to the full considered. You must imagine gentleman, quoth *Mutio*, for so was the Doctors name, that men of our profession are no blabs, but hold their secrets in their hearts bottome, and therfore reueale what you please, it shall not onely be concealed, but cured; if either my art or counsaile may doo it. Vpon this *Lionell*, so was the young Gentleman called, told and discourst vnto him from point to point how he was false in loue with a gentlewoman that was married to one of his profession; discovered her dwelling and the house, and for that hee was vnacquainted with the woman, and a man little experienced in loue matters, he required his fauour to further him with his aduise. *Mutio* at this motion was stung to the hart, knowing it was his wife hee was fallen in loue withall: yet to conceale the matter, and to experience his wiues chastity, and that if she plaide false, he might be reuenged on them both: he dissembled the matter, and answered: that he knewe the woman very well, and commended her highly: but saide, she had a Churle to her husband, and therfore he thought shée woulde bee the more

tractable : trie her man quoth hee, fainte hart neuer woonne faire Lady, and if shée will not be brought to the bent of your bowe, I will prouide such a potion as shall dispatch all to your owne content, and to giue you further instructions for oportunitie, knowe that her husband is foorth euery after noone from thrée till sixe. Thus farre I haue aduised you, because I pittie your passions as my selfe being once a louer : but now I charge thée reueale it to none whomsoever, least it doo disparage my credit, to meddle in amorous matters. The yong Gentleman not onely promised all carefull secrecy, but gaue him harty thanks for his good counsell, promising to méete him there the next day, and tell him what newes. Then hee left the old man, who was almost mad for feare his wife any way should play false : he saw by experience, braue men came to besiege the castle, and séeing it was in a womans custodie, and had so weake a gouernor as himselfe, he doubted it would in time be deliuered vp : which feare made him almost franticke, yet he driude of the time in great torment, till he might heare from his riuall. *Lionello* he hastes him home and sutes him in his brauerye, and goes downe towards the house of *Mutio*, where he sees her at her windowe, whome he courted with a passionate looke, with such an humble *salute*, as shée might perceiue how the gentleman was affectionate. *Margaretta* looking earnestly vpon him, and noting the perfection of his proportion, accounted him in her eye the flower of all *Pisa*, thinkte her selfe fortunate, if shée might haue him for her freend, to supply those defaultes that she found in *Mutio* : sundry times that afternoone he past by her window, and he cast not vp more louing lookes, then he receiued gracious fauours : which did so incourage him, that the next daye betwéene thrée and sixe hee went to the house, and knocking at the doore, desired to speake with the Mistris of the house, who hearing by her maids de-

scription what he was, commaunded him to come in, where she interteined him with all curtesie.

The youth that neuer before had giuen the attempt to couet a Ladye, began his *exordium* with a blushe : and yet went forward so well, that hee discourst vnto her howe hee loued her, and that if it might please her so to accept of his seruice, as of a fréende euer vowde in all duetye to bee at her commaunde, the care of her honour should bee déerer to him then his life, and hee would bee ready to prise her discontent with his bloud at all times.

The gentlewoman was a little coye, but before they past (*sic*) they concluded, that the next day at foure of the clocke hee should come thither and eate a pounce of Cherries, which was resolued on with a *succado des labres*, and so with a loath to departe they tooke their leaues. *Lionello* as ioyfull a man as might be, hyed him to the church to méete his olde Doctor, where hee found him in his olde walke : what newes syr quoth *Mutio* ? how haue you sped ? Euen as I can wishe quoth *Lionello*. For I haue been with my Mistresse, and haue found her so tr[a]ctable, that I hope to make the olde peasant her Husband looke broad headed by a paire of browantlers. How deepe this strooke into *Mutios* hart, let them imagine that can coniecture what ielousie is, insomuch that the olde Doctor askte when should be the time : mary quoth *Lionello*, to morrow at foure of the clocke in the afternoone, and then Maister Doctor quoth hee, will I dub the olde Squire knight of the forked order.

Thus they past on in chat,¹ till it grew late, and then *Lyonello* went home to his lodging, and *Mutio* to his house, couering all his sorrowes with a merrie countenance, with full resolution to reuenge them both the next day with extremetie. He past the

¹ [Old copy, *that*].

night as patiently as he could, and the next daye after dinner awaye he went, watching when it should bee foure of the clocke, at the houre iustly came *Lyonello*, and was intertained with all curtesie: but scarce had they kist, ere the maide cried out to her Mistresse that her Maister was at the doore: for he hasted, knowing that a horne was but a little while on grafting: *Margaret* at this alarum was amazed, and yet for a shifte chopt *Lyonello* into a great driefatte¹ full of Feathers, and sat her downe close to her woorke: by that came *Mutio* in blowing, and as though hee came to looke some what in haste, called for the Keyes of his Chambers, and looked in euerye place, searching so narrowlye in euery corner of the house, that he left not the very priuie vnsearcht: seeing he could not finde him, hee saide nothing, but fayning himselfe not well at ease, staide at home, so that poore *Lionello* was faine to staye in the drifatte till the old Churle was in bed with his wife: and then the maide let him out at a backedoore, who went home with a flea in his eare to his lodging.

Well, the next day he went againe to méete his Doctor, whome hee found in his woonted walke: What newes? quoth *Mutio*; how haue you sped? A poxe of the old slaue, quoth *Lyonello*, I was no sooner in, and had giuen my mistresse one kisse, but the iealous asse was at the doore, the maide spied him and cryed her Maister: so that the poore Gentlewoman for verye shifte, was faine to put me in a driefatte of Feathers that stoode in an olde Chamber, and there I was faine to tarrie while he was in bed and a sleepe, and then the maide let me out and I departed.

¹ What can Malone mean by saying, that in this tale there is no trace of the basket? See Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell, vol. viii., p. 210. The boasting of Lionello that he would place horns on Mutio exactly tallies with Falstaff's boast to Ford in the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

But it is no matter, twas but a chaunce, and I hope to crye quittance with him ere it be long : as how? quoth *Mutio*. Marry thus, quoth *Lionello* : she sent me woord by her maide this day, that vpon Thursday next the old Churle suppeth with a patient of his a mile out of *Pisa*, and then I feare not but to quitte him for all : It is well, quoth *Mutio*, Fortune bee your fréende : I thank you, quoth *Lionello*, and so after a little more prattle they departed.

To bee shorte, Thursdaye came, and about sixe of the Clocke foorth goes *Mutio*, no further then a freendes house of his, from whence hee might descrye who went into his house, straight hee sawe *Lionello* enter in : and after goes hee, insomuche that he was scarselye sitten downe, before the Mayde cryed out againe, my maister comes, the goodwife that before had prouided for afterclaps, had found out a priuie place between two séelings of a plauncher, and there she thrust *Lionello*, & her husband came sweting. What news, quoth shee, driues you home againe so soone Husband? Marrye swéete wife, quoth he, a fearefull dreame that I had this night which came to my reinembrance, & that was this : methought there was a villeine that came secretly into my house with a naked poinard in his hand, and hid himselfe : but I could not finde the place ; with that mine nose bled, and I came backe : and by the grace of God I will seeke euery corner in the house for the quiet of my minde. Marry I pray you doo husband, quoth she : with that he lockt in all the doors, and began to search euery chamber, euery hole, euery chest, euery tub, the very well ;¹ he stabd euery featherbed through, and made hauocke, like a mad man, which made him

¹ This enumeration of the different places that were ransacked is very similar to that put into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans on a like occasion in the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

thinke all was in vaine, and he begā to blame his eies that thought they saw that which they did not : vpon this he rest halfe lunaticke, & all night he was very wakefull, that towards the morning he fell into a dead sléepe, and then was *Lionello* conueighed away.

In the morning when *Mutio* wakened, hee thought how by no meanes hée should be able to take *Lyonello* tardy : yet he laid in his head a most dangerous plot, and that was this : Wife quoth he, I must the next Monday ride to *Vycensa* to visit an olde patient of mine ; till my returne, which will be some ten dayes, I will haue thee staye at our little graunge house in the Countrey : marry very well content husband, quoth she : with that he kist her, and was verye pleasant, as though he had suspected nothing, and away hee flinges to the Church, where hee méetes *Lionello*. What sir quoth he what newes, is your mistresse yours in possession ? no, a plague of the old slaue quoth he : I think he is either a witch, or els woorkes by Magick : for I can no sooner enter in the doores, but he is at my backe, and so he was againe yester night : for I was not warme in my seate before the maide cried, my maister comes : and then was the poore soule faine to conueigh me betweene two séelings of a chamber in a fit place for y^e purpose : wher I laught hartely to my self, to sée how he sought euery corner, ransackt euery tub, and stabd euery featherbed : but in vaine, I was safe enough till the morning, and then when he was fast a sleepe, I lept out. Fortune frowns on you quoth *Mutio* : I hope quoth *Lionello* this is the last time, and now shee wil begin to smile : for on monday next he rides to *Vicensa*, and his wife lyes at a grange house a little of the towne, and there in his absence I will reuenge all forepassed misfortunes : God send it be so quoth *Mutio*, & so took his leaue. These two louers longd for mōday, & at last it came early in the morn-

ing *Mutio* horst himselfe, and his wife, his maide, and a man, and no more, and away he rides to his grange house, where after he had brok his fast he took his leaue, & away towards *Vicensa*. He rode not far ere by a false way he returned into a thicket, & there with a company of Cuntry peasants lay in an ambuscade to take the young gentleman : in the afternoon comes *Lionello* gallopping, and as soon as he came within sight of the house, he sent back his horse by his boy, & went easily a foot, & there at the very entry was entertained by *Margaret*, who led him up y^e staires, and conuaid him into her bedchamber saying he was welcome into so mean a cottage : but quoth she, now I hope fortun shal not enuy y^e purity of our loues. Alas alas mistris cried the maid, héer is my maister, & 100 men with him, with bils & stauies : we are betraid quoth *Lionel*, and I am but a dead man : ¹ feare not quoth she, but follow me, and straight she carried him downe into a lowe parlor : where stoode an olde rotten chest full of writings, she put him into that, and couered him with old papers and evidences, and went to the gate to meet hir husband : why signior *Mutio* what means this hurly burly quoth she? vile shamelesse strumpet as thou art, thou shalt know by and by quoth he. Where is thy loue? all we haue watcht him & séen him enter in : now quoth he, shal neither thy tub of feathers nor thy seeling serue, for perish he shall with fire, or els fall into my hands. Doo thy worst iealous foole quoth she, I ask thée no fauour : with that in a rage he beset y^e house round, and then set fire on it. Oh in what a perplexitie was poore *Lionello* that was shut in a Chest, and the fire about his eares? and how was *Margaret* passionat, that knew her loue in such danger? yet

¹ This is the very same expression that Mrs Page uses to Falstaff in a similar emergency.

she made light of the matter, and as one in a rage called her maid to her & said: Come on wench seing thy maister mad with ielousie hath set the house & al my liuing on fire, I will be reuenged vpon him, help me héer to lift this old chest where all his writings & déeds are, let that burne first, and as soon as I see that one fire I will walk towards my freends: for the old foole wil be beggard, and I wil refuse him, *Mutio* that knew al his obligations and statutes lay there, puld her back, and bad two of his men carry the Chest into the feeld, and séc it were safe, himself standing by and séeing his house burnd downe sticke and stone. Thē quieted in his minde, he went home with his wife, and began to flatter her, thinking assuredly y^t he had burned her Paramour, causing his chest to be carried in a Cart to his house at *Pisa*. *Margaret* impatient wēt to her mothers, and complained to her and to her bretheren of y^e iea-lousie of her husband, who maintained it to be true, and desired but a daies respite to prooue it: wel hée was bidden to supper the next night at her mothers, she thinking to make her daughter and him fréends againe. In the meane time he to his woonted walk in the Church, & there præter expectationem he found *Lionello* walking: wondring at this, he straight en quires what newes? What newes Maister Doctor quoth he, & he fell in a great laughing: in faith yesterday I scapt a scowring, for, syrrha I went to the grange house, where I was appointed to come, and I was no sooner gotten vp the Chamber, but the magicall villeine her husband beset the house with bils & staues, and that he might be sure no séeling nor corner should shrowde me, he set the house on fire: and so burnt it down to the ground: why quoth *Mutio*, and how did you escape? alas quoth he, wel fare a womans wit, she conueighed me into an old chest full of writings, which she knew her hus-

band durst not burne, and so I was saved and brought to *Pisa*, and yesternight by her maide let home to my lodging. This quoth he, is the pleasantest iest that euer I heard : and vpon this I haue a sute to you, I am this night bidden foorth to supper, you shall be my guest, onelye I will craue so much fauour, as after supper for a pleasant sporte, to make relation what successe you haue had in your loues : for that I wil not sticke quoth he, and so he caried *Lionello* to his mother in lawes house with him, and discouered to his wiues brethren who he was, and how at supper he would disclose the whole matter : for quoth he, he knowes not that I am *Margarets* husband : at this all the brethren bad him welcome, & so did the mother to, & *Margaret* she was kept out of sight : supper time being come, they fell to their victals, & *Lionello* was carrowst vnto by *Mutio*, who was very pleasant to draw him to a merry humor that he might to the ful discourse the effect & fortunes of his loue. Supper being ended, *Mutio* requested him to tel to the Gentleman what had hapned between him and his mistresse. *Lionello* with a smiling countenance began to describe his Mistresse, the house and stréet where she dwelt, how he fell in loue with her, & how he vsed the counsell of this Doctor, who in al his affaires was his secretarie. *Margaret* heard all this with a great feare, & whē he came at the last point she caused a cup of wine to be giuē him by one of her sisters wherein was a ring that he had giuen *Margaret* : as he had told how he escapt burning, and was ready to confirme all for a troth, the Gentlewoman drunke to him : who taking the cup and seing the ring, hauing a quick wit & a reaching head, spide the fetch, and perceiued that all this while this was his louers husband, to whome hee had reuealed these escapes : at this drinking y^e wine, and swallowing the ring into his mouth, he went forward ; gentlemē, quoth he, how

like you of my loues and my fortunes? wel quoth the gentlemē, I pray you is it true? as true quoth he, as if I would be so simple as to reueal what I did to *Margarets* husband; for you know gentlemen, that I knew this *Mutio* to be her husband whom I notified to be my louer, and for y^t he was generally known through *Pisa* to be a iealous fool; therfore with these tales I brought him into this paradise,¹ which indeed are follies of mine own braine; for trust me by the faith of a gentleman I neuer spake to the woman, was neuer in her companye, neither doo I know her if I see her. At this they all fell in a laughing at *Mutio*, who was ashamde that *Lionello* had so scoft him; but all was well, they were made friends, but the iest went so to his hart, that he shortly after died, and *Lionello* enioyed the ladye, and for that they two were the death of the old man, now are they plagued in purgatory, and he whips them with Nettles.

¹ The same phrase is used by Mrs Quickly in the "Merry Wives of Windsor."



6. *The Tale of the Fishwife of Brentford.*



[I print the following tale from a very curious and rare work, entitled, "Westward for Smelts," 4^o, Lond., 1620; the only copy of which I have ever seen is in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.¹ Steevens mentions an earlier copy, of the date of 1603, but, not finding any notice elsewhere of such an edition, and there being nothing in the Cambridge copy to indicate that it is a reprint, I am inclined to think that Steevens must have fallen into an error. It was entered in the books of the Stationers' Company in January, 1619-20. I insert the present tale in this place in deference to the opinion of Malone, who thinks "it probably led Shakespeare to lay the scene of Falstaff's love adventures at Windsor." See Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell, vol. viii., p. 3.—Halliwell.]

IN Windsor, not long agoe, dwelt a Sumpter man, who had to wife a very faire (but something wanton) creature, ouer whom (not without cause) he was something ieaious, yet had hee neuer any prooffe of her inconstancie; but he feared he was, or should be a Cuckold, and therefore preuented it so much as he could by restraining her libertie; but this did but

¹ [A second is in the library of Mr Huth, from the Roxburghe and Daniel collections. The text exhibited by Mr Halliwell is not true to the original.]

set an edge to her wanton appetite, and was a pro-uocatiue to her Lust (for what women are restrained from, they most desire), for long hee could not hold his watchfull eye ouer her, 'cause his businesse call'd him away, which alway lay farre from home. He being to depart from home, bethought himselfe what he were best to do ; put another in trust with his wife he durst not : (for no greater shame is there to a man then to be knowne ieaious ouer his wife) himselfe could tarry no longer at home for feare of losing his place, and then his liuing was gone : thus was hee troubled in minde, not knowing what to doe. Now he repented himselfe that he had vsed his wife so ill, which had giuen her cause to hate him, and procure him a mischiefe, for he saw that he had no other way now to take, but to put his credit into his wiues hands ; therefore, the day and night before hee went from home, he vsed her extraordinary kindely, making more on her then the first day they were married. His wife maruelled at this suddaine change, and, though she liked this vsage well, yet she thought neuer the better of him in her heart, and in her outward carriage bare her selfe as before, which was euer modestly in his sight. The morning being come that he was to depart from home (after many sweet kisses and kinde embraces giuen by him), hee said, Sweet honey, I cannot blame thee that thou takest my vsage heretofore vnkindly ; but if thou knewest (as I meane to shew thee) what my intent was, thou wilt change that bad thought for a better liking of me. Know then, my loue, that I vsed thee thus strangely, to know how deepe thy loue was settled on me ; (for to vse a friend frowardly, tryes her loue, in forbearance of his iniuries, and in seeking to please him), which I haue found by prooffe immouable. Oh, my more then deare wife, thy loue is fixed sure on me, and not to be remoued by any crosse what-

soeuer. Thus did he seeke to vnsnare himselfe, but was caught faster, for his wife, perceiuing his iealousie, vowed to be reuenged, and giue him good and sufficient cause to thinke himselfe a Cuckolde; and, with very ioy to see him creepe to her after this manner, she let fall a few teares, which proceeded rather of inward laughter then any griefe. Hee seeing this, thought they proceeded from pure loue, yet did hee not thorowly trust her, but minded to returne ere she was aware of him. To be short, they broke their fasts together, and louingly parted. His wife, beeing glad of this, sent for a woman in the towne, one that was the procurer of her friend, to whom she told all that had hapned betweene her Husband and her selfe: requesting her in all haste to giue her friend notice that her husband was now from home, and that shee would meete him when and wheresoeuer he pleased. The old woman, glad of this, gaue her Louer to vnderstand of this good hap, who soone met her at a place in the towne, where they vsually met, where they plumed the Sumpster-mans Cap: there she gaue the old Woman a key which would open her doore, by which meanes shee might come to the speech of her at any time of the night without knocking: so carefull was she to keepe her selfe cleere and spotlesse in the eyes of her neighbours: who would not have thought well of her, if they had heard noise at her doore in the night, and her husband from home: hauing passed the time away in louing complements, they parted, each going their seuerall wayes, not any one of her neighbours mistrusting her, she bare her selfe so cunningly modest. Her husband, being on his iourney, following his Sumpter-horse, thought his wife at home, working like a good huswife (when, perchance, she was following a Station she tooke more delight in then he, poore man, did in his); yet put he no more trust in her than he

was forced to doe : for hee dispatches his business so soone as hee could, and returned three dayes sooner then he promised her. When he came home he knocked at the doore: there might he knocke long enough, for his Wife, who was knocking the Vintners pots with her Louer. He, hauing no answere, began to curse and ban, bidding a poxe on all whores: his neighbours began to perswade him, telling him that she went but new forth, and would returne suddenly againe: and iust at that instant came she homeward, not knowing her good man was returned, for she had appointed the old Woman to come and call her that night: Seeing her Husband, you may iudge what a taking this poore Woman was in: back she durst not goe, for that would haue sharpened his rage; and if shee went forward, she was sure of some seuerer punishment: yet, taking courage, on she went: Her husband entertained her with halfe a doozen gadding Queans, and such like words, and she excused her selfe so well as she could. But to be briefe, in a doores they went: then made he the doore fast, and came to her (who was almost dead with feare that her close play now would he descride), saying; Thou Whore, long time haue I doubted this looseness in thy life, which I now haue plaine prooffe of by thy gadding in my absence, and doe thou at this present looke for no other thing at my hands then reward fit for so vilde a creature as a Whore is. At these words she would haue skreeked out: but he stopped her mouth, pulling withall a rusty Dagger from his side, vowing to scowre it with her bloud, if shee did but offer to open her mouth. Shee poore creature forced more with feare then with duty, held her peace, while hee bound her to a post hard by the dore, vowing she should stand there al night, to coole her hote bloud. Hauing done this, about ten of the clock, he went to bed, telling her that he meant not to sleepe, but watch her if she

durst once open her mouth : but he was better then his word, though hee held it not, for he was no sooner in bed but he fell fast asleepe, being wearied with riding. Long had he not beene so, but the old Woman came and opened the dore with the key that the Sumpter-man's wife had giuen her, and was going to the bed which the Sumpter-man lay vpon to call his Wife : but, as she passed by, the poore woman that was bound to her good behauour, call'd her by name (yet very softly), saying, Mother Ione, I am heere, mother Ione, pray goe no further, and speake softly : for my Husband, mother Ione, is a bed. This good old Woman went to her, and, finding her bound, asked her the cause : to whom the afflicted Wife related (with still speech, which is contrary to women's nature) euery circumstance, for she knew her Husband fast enough for three houres. Is that all? said the old Woman ; then feare not but you shal enioy your friends bed : with that she vnloosed her. The Sumpter-mans wife maruelled what she meant to doe, saying, Mother, what meane you? this is not the way that I must take to cleere my selfe. Alas, should he wake and finde me gone to-morrow, he will kill mee in his rage. Content you, said the old Wife, I will bide the brunt of all ; and heere will I stand tyed to this post till you returne, which I pray let be so soone as you can. This wanton Wife praised her counsell, and imbraces the same, and leauing the old Woman bound (as she desired) in her place, she went to her lusty Louer, who long time had expected her : to whom she related her husband's unluckie comming home, her ill vsage, and the old Woman's kindnesse : for all which he was sorrie, but could not mend, onely hee promised to reward this kinde woman, call'd Mother Ione : so leauing that talke they fell to other.

The Sumpter-man, who could not soundly sleepe, because still he dreamed of Hornes and Cuckolds,

wakened not long after his wife was gone : and being wakened, he fell to talking after this manner : Now, you queane, is it good gadding? Is your hote bloud cooled yet with cold ayre? Will your insatiable desires be allayed with hunger and cold? If they be not, thou arrant Whore, I will tye thee thus vp, not onely nine dayes, but nineteene times nine dayes, till thou hast lost this hote and damnable pride of thine : Ile doo't Whore I will, I sweare I will. This good old Woman, hearing him rayle thus frantickly, wished (with all her heart) her selfe out of doores, and his Wife in her old place. Shee durst not speake to him, for feare she should be knowne by her speech to bee another, and not his Wife : and hee lay still calling to her, asking if her hote desires were cooled. At length hee, hearing her make no answeare, thought her to be sullen, and bid her speak to him, or else she should repent it : (yet durst not the old wife speake.) He, hearing no speech, rose vp, and took his knife, swearing hee would marke her for a Whore, and with those words he ranne to her, and cut her ouer the nose : all this the old Woman indured quietly, knowing her words would haue but increased her punishment. To bed went he againe, with such words as hee vsed before, saying that, since her bloud would not coole, he would let it out. Hauing lyen a while, he fell asleepe, leauing old Ione bleeding at nose, where shee stood till three of the clocke in the morning, at which time this honest Lasse (the Sumpter-man's wife) came home : when she had quietly opened the doore, she went to the old Woman, asking her how shee had sped? Marry, quoth shee, as I would wish my enemies to speed—ill : I pray vnbinde me, or I shall bleed to death. The good wife was sorry to heare that she had receiued such hurt, but farre gladder that it did not happen vnto her selfe ; so vnbinding her, she stood in her place. Homeward went the old

Woman, bethinking her selfe all the way how she might excuse that hurt to her Husband: at last she had one (for excuses are neuer further off women then their apron strings), which was this: she went home to her husband, who was a Mason, and went euery morning betimes to worke out of the towne: him she calleth, telling him it was time to goe to worke: the silly man rose, and, being ready to goe, he missed a Chisell (which his wife had hid), and went vp and downe groping for it in the darke, praying his Wife to helpe him to looke it. She made as she had sought for it, but, instead of that, she gaue him a sharpe knife (which a Butcher had brought to grinding) he, catching at this suddenly (as one being in haste), cut all his fingers, so that with anger he threw the knife to the earth, cursing his Wife that gaue it him. Presently, vpon y^e fall of the knife, she cryed out that shee was hurt. The Mason, being amazed, went and lighted a Candle, and, returning, he found his wiues nose cut. The silly man (perswading himselfe that hee had done it with hurling the knife) intreated her to forgiue him, for he protested that hee thought her no hurt when hee did it: then fetched he a Surgeon, who cunningly stitched it vp, that it was whole in a short time. The Sumpter-man all this while did little thinke how he was beguiled, who when he was awaked, lighted a Candle to see what hurt he had done his Wife in his rage: He comming neere her, and seeing her face whole, stood in a maze, not knowing what to thinke on it, for he was sure that he had cut her nose. His Wife seeing him stand in this maner, asked him what he did ayle, and why he gazed so on her as though he knew her not? Pardon mee, Wife, quoth he, for this night hath a miracle beene wrought: I doe see plainely that the heauens will not suffer the Innocent to suffer harme. Then fetched hee his knife which was all bloody, saying, Deare wife, with

this knife did I giue thee this present night a wound on the face, the which most miraculously is whole: which is a signe thou art free and spotlesse, and so will I euer hold thee. His Wife said little (for feare of laughing), onely shee said, she knew heauen would defend the Innocent: so they went to bed louingly together, he vowing neuer to thinke amisse on her. So had she more libertie then before, and the old [woman] had gold for her wound, which wound was so well cured (I thanke God!) that you can scarce see it on my nose. Hereat they all laughed, saying she had told a good Tale for her selfe: at which she bit her lip, to thinke how she was so very a foole to betray her selfe. But knowing that excuses would but make her more suspected, she held her tongue, giuing the next leaue to speake.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

VOL. III.

F

[THE history of "Ariodanto and Genevra," from the fifth canto of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," has been reprinted to form part of the present little Shakespearian Cyclopædia, agreeably to the suggestion of the late Mr Dyce, who observes (edit. of Shakespeare, 1868, ii. 72): "The earlier portion of the serious business of 'Much Ado About Nothing' has a great resemblance to part of the story of Ariodante and Genevra, in Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso,' Canto V., where Polinesso, in order to revenge himself on the Princess Genevra, who has rejected his love suit, and pledged her troth to Ariodante, prevails on her attendant Dalinda to personate the princess, and to appear on a balcony by moonlight, while he ascends to her apartment by a ladder of ropes." The story was also, no doubt, familiarised to Shakespeare by its treatment in Spenser's "Fairie Queen." The English version of Ariosto, which the poet almost unquestionably used, appeared in 1591. See further in Mr Dyce's Shakespeare, *loco citato*.

Of Shakespeare's obligations, if any, to the older play on the subject, performed in 1582-3, it is impossible to form any opinion, as that production has not come down to us. Nor has Turbervile's version of the tale, quoted by Harington, ever been seen, if indeed it passed the press.

As regards the novel reprinted from Bandello, Mr Dyce says: "Bandello relates how S. Timbreo di Cardona, essendo col Re Piero d'Aragona in Messina, s'innamora di Fenicia Lionata, . . . and in the supposed death of Fenicia, her obsequies, and her subsequent marriage with Timbreo, we recognise very important incidents of the play; nor is it immaterial to notice that the names 'Lionato de Lionati' and 'Piero d'Aragona' have become in the play 'Leonato' and 'Pedro of Arragon.'" Bandello's novel is in Belleforest; but perhaps there was some English translation from the latter (like the "History of Hamblet"), which has not survived. As regards the name "Leonato," there was no necessity for Shakespeare to go further for it than Sydney's "Arcadia," where Leonatus is one of the characters.

Mr Hunter's speculation ("New Illustrations of Shakespeare," i. 229 *et seqq.*) as to the employment by the poet in this comedy of a piece of contemporary English history deserves respectful consideration; but Mr Hunter was rather sorely bitten with the Herbert theory.

In composing these plays, of which, like the present, the scene is either partly or wholly laid in Italy, I do not recollect to have seen it suggested that Shakespeare may have employed, as a book of reference—as a kind of Italian Holinshed—Thomas's "History of Italy," 1549. I do not trace him in Fenton's English version of Guicciardini, folio, 1579.]



1. *The Story of Ariodanto and Geneva.*

—o—
[From *Harington's Ariosto.*]

WE see the rest of liuing creatures all,
Both birds and beasts that on the earth do
dwell,
Liue most in peace, or if they hap to brall,
The male and female still agreeth well.
The fierce, the faint, the greater nor the small
Against the laws of nature will rebell.
The sauage Lions, Beares and Bulls most wyld,
Vnto their females shew themselues most myld.
What fiend of hell, what rage raignes here so rife,
Disturbing still the state of humane harts?
How comes it that we find twixt man and wife,
Continuall iarres bred by iniurious parts?
The vndefiled bed is filde by strife,
And teares that grow of words vnkind and thwarts :
Nay oft all care and feare is so exiled,
Their guiltie hands with blood haue bene defiled.
No doubt they are accurst and past all grace,
And such as haue of God nor man no feare,
That dare to strike a damsell in the face,
Or of her head to minish but a haire :

But who with knife or poison would vnlace
 Their line of life, or flesh in peeces teare,
 No man, nor made of flesh and blood I deeme him,
 But sure some hound of hell I do esteeme him.

Such were these theeues that would the damsell kill,
 That by Renaldos was recouered :
 They secretly had brought her down the hill,
 In hope their fact could neuer be discovered,
 Yet such is God, so good his gracious will,
 That when she looked least she was deliuered,
 And with a chearfull heart that late was sorie,
 She doth begin to tell the wofull storie.

Good sir (said she) my conscience to discharge,
 The greatest tyrannie I shall you tell,
 That erst in Thebes, in Athens or in Arge,
 Was euer wrought, or where worst tyrants dwell :
 My voice and skill would faile to tell at large
 The filthy fact, for I beleue it well,
 Vpon this countrey Phoebus shines more cold,
 Because he doth such wicked acts behold.

Men seeke we see, and haue in euery age,
 To foile their foes, and tread them in the dust :
 But there to wreake their rancor and their rage,
 Where they are lou'd, is foule and too vniust.
 Loue should preuaile, iust anger to asswage,
 If loue bring death, whereto can women trust ?
 Yet loue did breed my danger and my feare,
 As you shall heare if you will giue me eare.

For entring first into my tender spring
 Of youthfull yeares, vnto the court I came,
 And serued there the daughter of our king,
 And kept a place of honor with good fame,
 Till loue (alas that loue such care should bring)
 Enuide my state, and sought to do me shame.
 Loue made the Duke of Alban seeme to me,
 The fairest wight that erst mine eyes did see.

And (for I thought he lou'd me all aboue)
I bent my selfe to hold and loue him best,
But now I find how hard it is to proue,
By sight or speech what bides in secret brest,
While I (poore I) did thus beleeeue and loue,
He gets my bodie bed and all the rest.
Nor thinking this might breed my mistres danger,
I vsd this practice in Geneuras chamber.

Where all the things of greatest value lay,
And where Geneura sleepes her selfe sometime,
There at a window we did finde a way,
In secret sort to couer this our crime :
Here when my loue and I were bent to play,
I taught him by a scale of cord to clime,
And at the window I my selfe would stand,
And let the ladder downe into his hand.

So oft we meete together at this sport,
As faire Geneuras absence giues vs leaue,
Who vsd to other chambers to resort
In summer time, and this for heat to leaue.
And this we carried in so secret sort,
As none there were our doings did perceauē,
For why, this window standeth out of sight,
Where none do come by day nor yet by night.

'Twixt vs this vse continu'd many dayes,
Yea many months we vsd this priuie traine,
Love set my heart on fire so many wayes,
That still my liking lasted to my paine.
I might haue found by certain strange delayes,
That he but little lou'd and much did faine,
For all his sleights were not so closely couered,
But that they might full easly be discouered.

At last my Duke did seeme enflamed sore,
One faire Geneura : neither can I tell,
If now this loue began or was before,
That I did come to court with her to dwell.

But looke if I were subiect to his lore,
 And looke if he my love requited well,
 He askt my aid herein no whit ashamed,
 To tell me how of her he was enflamed.

Not all of loue, but partly of ambition,
 He beares in hand his minde is onely bent,
 Because of her great state and hie condition,
 To haue her for his wife is his intent :
 He nothing doubteth of the kings permission,
 Had he obtaind Geneuras free assent.
 Ne was it hard for him to take in hand,
 That was the second person in the land.

He sware to me, if I would be so kind,
 His hie attempt to further and assist,
 That at his hands I should great fauour finde,
 And of the king procure me what me list :
 How he would euer keepe it in his mind,
 And in his former loue to me persist,
 And notwithstanding wife and all the rest,
 I should be sure that he would loue me best.

I straight consented to his fond request,
 As readie his commandment to obay,
 And thinking still my time employed best,
 When I had pleasd his fancie any way :
 And when I found a time then was I prest,
 To talke of him, and good of him to say,
 I vsed all my art, my wit, and paine,
 Geneuras loue and liking to obtaine.

God knowth how glad I was to worke his will,
 How diligent I followed his direction,
 I spar'd no time, nor trauell, nor no skill,
 To this my Duke to kindle her affection :
 But alwayes this attempt succeeded ill,
 Loue had her heart alreadie in subiection,
 A comely knight did fair Geneura please,
 Come to this countrie from beyond the seas.

From Italy for seruice (as I heare)
Vnto the court he and his brother came,
In tourneys and in tilt he had no peere,
All Brittain soon was filled with his fame.
Our king did loue him well and hold him deere,
And did by princely gifts confirme the same.
Fair castels, townes, and lordships, him he gaue,
And made him great, such power great princes haue.
Our Soueraigne much, his daughter likt him more,
And Ariodant this worthy knight is named,
So braue in deeds of armes himselfe he bore,
No Ladie of his loue need be ashamed :
The hill of Sicil burneth not so sore,
Nor is the mount Vesuuio so inflamed,
As Ariodantes heart was set on fire,
Geneuras beautie kindling his desire.
His certaine loue by signe most certaine found,
Did cause my sute vnwillingly was hard,
She well perceiu'd his loue sincere and sound,
Enclining to his sute with great regard,
In vaine I seeke my Dukes love to expound,
The more I seeke to make the more I mard,
For while with words I seeke to praise & grace him
No lesse with workes she striueth to deface him.
Thus being oft repulst (so euill sped I,)
'To my too much beloued Duke I went,
And told him how her heart was fixt alredie,
How on the stranger all her mind was bent :
And praid him now sith there was no remedie,
That to surcease his sute he would content,
For Ariodant so lou'd the princely wench,
'That Neptunes floods vnneth his flames cold quench.
When Polynesso (so the Duke we call)
This tale vnpleasant oftentime had hard,
And found himselfe his likel'hood verie small,
When with my words her deeds he had compard,

Greue'd with repulse, and greeued therewithall,
 To see this stranger thus to be prefard,
 The loue that late his heart so sore had burned,
 Was cooled all, and into hatred turned.

Intending by some vile and subtil traine,
 To part Geneura from her faithfull louer,
 And plant so great mislike betweene them twaine,
 Yet with so cunning shew the same to couer,
 That her good name he will so foule distaine,
 Aliue nor dead she neuer shall recouer.
 But lest he might in this attempt be thwarted,
 To none at all his secret he imparted.

Now thus resolu'd (Dalinda faire) quoth he,
 (I so am cald) you know though trees be topt,
 And shrowded low, yet sprout young shoots we see,
 And issue from that head so lately lopt:

So in my loue it fareth now with me.
 Though by repulse cut short and shrewdly cropt,
 The pared tops such buds of loue do render,
 That still I proue new passions do engender.

Ne do I deeme so deare the great delight,
 As I disdaine I should be so reiect,
 And lest this griefe should ouercome me quight,
 Because I faile to bring it to effect,
 To please my fond conceit this very night,
 I pray thee deare to do as I direct:

When fair Geneura to her bed is gone,
 Take thou the clothes she ware and put them on.

As she is wont her golden haire to dresse,
 In stately sort to wind it on her wire,
 So you her person liuely to expresse,
 May dresse your owne and weare her head attire,
 Her gorgets and her iewels rich no lesse,
 You may put on t'accomplish my desire.
 And when vnto the window I ascend,
 I will my comming there you do attend.

Thus I may passe my fancies foolish fit,
And thus (quoth he) my selfe I would deceiue.
And I that had no reason nor no wit,
His shamefull drift (though open) to perceiue :
Did weare my mistresse robes that seru'd me fit,
And stood at window, there him to receiue.
And of the fraud I was no whit aware,
Till that fell out that caused all my care.

Of late twixt him and Ariodant had past,
About Geneura faire these words or such,
(For why there was good friendship in times past
Betweene them two, till loue their hearts did tuch)
The Duke such kind of speeches out did cast,
He said to Ariodant, he marueld much,
That hauing always lou'd and well regarded him,
That he againe so thanklessly rewarded him.

I know you see (for needs it must be seene)
The good consent and matrimoniall loue,
That long betweene Geneura and me hath beene,
For whom I meane ere long the king to moue.
Why should you fondly thrust your selfe betweene ?
Why should you roue your reach so farre above ?
For if my case were yours I would forbear,
Or if I knew that you so loued were.

And I much more (the other straight replies)
Do maruell you sir Duke are so vnkind,
That know our loue, and see it with your eies,
(Except that wilfulnesse haue made you blind)
That no man can more sured knots deuise,
Then her to me, and me to her do bind,
Into this sute so rashly are intended,
Still finding from all hope you are excluded.

Why beare you not to me the like respect,
As my good will requireth at your hand ?
Since that our loue has growne to this effect,
We mean to knit our selues in wedding band,

Which to fulfill ere long I do expect,
 For know I am (though not in rents or land)
 Yet in my Princes grace no whit inferiour,
 And in his daughters greatly your superiour.
 Well (said the Duke) errors are hardly moued,
 That love doth breed in vnaduised brest,
 Each thinkes himselfe to be the best beloued,
 And yet but one of vs is loued best.
 Wherefore to haue the matter plainly proued,
 Which should proceed in loue, and which shold rest,
 Let vs agree that victor he remaine,
 That of her liking sheweth signes most plaine.
 I will be bound to you by solemne oth,
 Your secrets all and counsell to conceale,
 So you likewise will plight to me your troth,
 The thing I shew you neuer to reueale.
 To trie the matter thus they greed both,
 And from this doome hereafter not repeale:
 But on the Bible first they were deposed,
 That this their speech should neuer be disclosed.
 And first the stranger doth his state reueale,
 And tell the truth in hope to end the strife,
 How she had promist him in wo and weale,
 To liue with him, and loue him all her life:
 And how with writing with her hand and seale,
 She had confirmed she would be his wife,
 Except she were forbidden by her father,
 For then to liue vnmarried she had rather.
 And furthermore he nothing doubts (he said)
 Of his good seruice so plaine prooffe to show,
 As that the king shall nothing be afraid,
 On such a Knight his daughter to bestow:
 And how in this he needeth little aid,
 As finding still his fauour greater grow,
 He doubts not he will grant his liking after
 That he shall know it pleaseth so his daughter.

And thus you see so sound stands mine estate,
 That I my selfe in thought can wish no more,
 Who seekes her now is sure to come too late,
 For that he seekes is granted me before,
 Now onely rests in marridge holy state,
 To knit the knot that must dure euermore.
 And for her praise, I need not to declare it,
 As knowing none to whom I may compare it.

Thus Ariodant a tale most true declared,
 And what reward he hoped for his paine.
 But my false Duke that him had fouly snared,
 And found by my great folly such a traine,
 Doth sweare all this might no way be compared
 With his, no though himselfe did iudge remaine,
 For I (quoth he) can shew signes so expresse,
 As you your selfe inferiour shall confesse.

Alas (quoth he) I see you do not know
 How cunningly these women can dissemble,
 They least to loue where they make greatest show,
 And not to be the thing they most resemble.
 But other fauours I receiue I trow,
 When as we two do secretly assemble,
 As I will tell you (though I should conceale it)
 Because you promise neuer to reueale it.

The truth is this, that I full oft haue seene
 Her iuory corpes, and bene with her all night,
 And naked laine her naked armes betweene,
 And full enioyne the fruites of loues delight :
 Now iudge who hath in greatest fauour beene,
 To which of vs she doth pertaine in right,
 And then giue place, and yeeld to me mine owne,
 Sith by iust proofes I now haue made it knowne.

Iust proofes? (quoth Ariodant) nay shamefull lies,
 Nor will I credit giue to any word :

Is this the finest tale you can deuise?

What, hop'd you that by this I could be dord?

No, no, but sith a slander foule doth rise
 By thee to her, maintaine it with thy sword,
 I call thee lying traitor to thy face,
 And meane to proue it in this present place.

Tush (quoth the Duke) it were a foolish part
 For you to fight with me that am your frend,
 Sith plaine to shew without deceit or art,
 As much as I haue said I do intend.

These words did gripe poore Ariodantes hart,
 Downe all his limbes a shiuering doth descend,
 And still he stood with eyes cast downe on ground,
 Like one would fall into a deadly sound.

With wofull mind, with pale and chearlesse face,
 With trembling voice that came from bitter thought,
 He said he much desir'd to see this place,
 Where such strange feats and miracles were wrought.
 Hath faire Geneura granted you this grace,
 That I (quoth he) so oft in vaine have sought?
 Now sure except I see it in my vew,
 I neuer will beleuee it can be trew.

The Duke did say he would with all his hart
 Both shew him where and how the thing was done,
 And straight from him to me he doth depart,
 Whom to his purpose wholly he had wonne :
 With both of vs he playth so well his part,
 That both of vs thereby were quite vndone.
 First he tells him that he would haue him placed
 Among some houses falne and quite defaced.

Some ruynd houses stood opposd direct
 Against the window where he doth ascend,
 But Ariodant discreetly doth suspect
 That this false Duke some mischief did intend,
 And thought that all did tend to this effect,
 By trechery to bring him to his end,
 That sure he had deuised this pretence,
 With mind to kill him ere he parted thence.

Thus though to see this sight he thought it long,
Yet tooke he care all mischiefe to preuent,
And if perhap they offer force or wrong,
By force the same for to resist he ment.
He had a brother valiant and strong,
Lurcanio cald, and straight for him he sent,
Not doubting but alone by his assistance,
Against twice twentie men to make resistance.

He bids his brother take his sword in hand,
And go into a place that he would guide,
And in a corner closely there to stand,
Aloofe from tother threescore paces wide,
The cause he would not let him vnderstand,
But prayes him there in secret sort to bide,
Vntill such time he hapt to heare him call,
Else (if he lou'd him) not to stirre at all.

His brother would not his request denie,
And so went Ariodant into his place,
And vndiscovered closely there did lie,
Till hauing looked there a little space,
The craftie Duke to come he might descrie,
That meant the chaste Geneura to deface,
Who hauing made to me his wonted signes,
I let him downe the ladder made of lines.

The gowne I ware was white, and richly set
With aglets, pearle, and lace of golde well garnished,
My stately tresses couerd with a net,
Of beaten gold most pure and brightly varnished.
Thus not content, the vaile aloft I set,
Which only Princes weare: thus stately harnished,
And vnder Cupids banner bent to fight,
All vnawares I stood in all their sight.

For why Lurcanio either taking care,
Lest Ariodant should in some danger go,
Or that he sought (as all desirous are)
The counsels of his dearest friend to know,

Close out of sight by secret steps and ware,
 Hard at his heeles his brother followed so,
 Till he was nearer come by fiftie paces,
 And there againe himselfe he newly places.

But I that thought no ill, securely came
 Vnto the open window as I said,
 For once or twice before I did the same,
 And had no hurt, which made me lesse afraid :
 I cannot boast (except I boast of shame)
 When in her robes I had my selfe araid,
 Me thought before I was not much vnlike her,
 But certaine now I seemed very like her.

But Ariodant that stood so farre aloofe,
 Was more deceiu'd by distance of the place,
 And straight beleeu'd against his owne behoofe,
 Seeing her clothes that he had seene her face.
 Now let those iudge that partly know by prooffe,
 The wofull plight of Ariodantes case,
 When Polynesso came by faithlesse frend,
 In both their sights the ladder to ascend.

I that his comming willingly did waite,
 And he once come thought nothing went amisse,
 Embrac'd him kindly at the first receit,
 His lips, his cheeks, and all his face did kisse,
 And he the more to colour his deceit,
 Did vse me kinder then he had ere this.
 This sight much care to Ariodante brought,
 Thinking Geneura with the Duke was nought.
 The grieve and sorrow sinketh so profound
 Into his heart, he straight resolves to die,
 He puts the pummell of his sword on ground,
 And meanes himselfe vpon the point to lie :
 Which when Lucanio saw and plainly found,
 That all this while was closely standing by,
 And Polynessos comming did discerned,
 Though who it was he neuer yet could learne.

He held his brother for the present time,
That else himselfe for grieffe had surely slaine,
Who had he not stood nigh and come betime,
His words and speeches had bene all in vaine.
What shall (quoth he) a faithlesse womans crime,
Cause you to die or put your selfe to paine?
Nay let them go, and curst be all their kind,
Ay borne like clouds with eu'ry blast of wind.

You rather should some iust reuenge deuise,
As she deserues to bring her to confusion :
Sith we haue plainly seene with both our eyes,
Her filthy fact appeare without collusion,
Loue those that loue againe, if you be wise,
For of my counsell this is the conclusion,
Put vp your sword against your selfe prepared,
And let her sinne be to the king declared.

His brothers words in Ariodantes mind
Seeme for the time to make some small impression,
But still the curelesse wound remained behind,
Despaire had of his heart the full possession,
And though he knew the thing he had assignd,
Contrary to Christend knights profession :
Yet here on earth he torment felt so sore,
In hell it selfe he thought there was no more.

And seeming now after a little pause,
Vnto his brothers counsell to consent,
He from the court next day himselfe withdrawes,
And makes not one priuie to his intent,
His brother and the Duke both knew the cause,
But neither knew the place whereto he went :
Diuers thereof most diuersely did iudge,
Some by good will perswaded, some by grudge.
Seu'n days entire about for him they sought,
Seu'n dayes entire no newes of him was found
The eight a peasant to Geneura brought
These newes, that in the sea he saw him drownd :

Not that the waters were with tempest wrought,
 Nor that his ship was stricken on the ground,
 How then? Forsooth (quoth he) and therewith wept,
 Downe from a rocke into the sea he lept.

And further he vnto Geneura told,
 How he met Ariodant vpon the way,
 Who made him go with him for to behold
 The wofull act that he would do that day.
 And charged him the matter to vnfold,
 And to his Princes daughter thus to say,
 Had he bene blind, he had full happie beene,
 His death should shew that he too much had seene.

There stands a rocke against the Irish isle,
 From thence into the sea himselfe he cast :
 I stood and looked after him a while,
 The height and steepnesse made me sore agast.
 I thence haue traueled hither many a mile,
 To shew you plainly how the matter past:
 When as the clowne this tale had told and verifide,
 Geneuras heart was not a little terrifide.

O Lord what wofull words by her were spoken,
 Laid all alone vpon her restlesse bed !
 Oft did she strike her guiltlesse brest in token,
 Of that great griefe that inwardly was bred :
 Her golden tresses all were rent and torn,
 Recounting full those wofull words he sed,
 How that the cause his cruell death was such,
 Was onely this, that he had seene too much.

The rumor of his death spred far and neare,
 And how, for sorrow he himselfe had killed,
 The King was sad, the court of heauy cheare,
 By Lords and Ladies many teares were spilled.
 His brother most, as louing him most deare,
 Had so his mind with sorrow ouerfilled,
 That he was scantly able to refraine,
 With his owne hands himselfe for to haue slaine.

And oftentimes repeating in his thought,
 The filthy fact he saw the other night,
 Which (as you heard) the Duke and I had wrought,
 I little looking it would come to light,
 And that the same his brothers death had brought,
 On faire Geneura he doth wreake his spight,
 Not caring (so did wrath him ouerwhelme)
 To leese the kings good will and all his realme.

The king and nobles sitting in the hall,
 Right pensiuie all for Ariodants destruction,
 Lurcanio vndertakes before them all,
 To giue them perfect notice and instruction,
 Who was the cause of Ariodantes fall :
 And hauing made some little introduction,
 He said it was unchast Geneuras crime,
 That made him kill himselfe before his time.

What should I seeke to hide his good intent ?
 His loue was such as greater none could be,
 He hop'd to haue your highnesse free assent,
 When you his value and his worth should see :
 But while a plaine and honest way he went,
 Behold he saw another climbe the tree,
 And in the midst of all his hope and sute,
 Another tooke the pleasure and the frute.

He further said, not that he had surmised,
 But that his eyes had seene Geneura stand,
 And at a window as they had deuised,
 Let downe a ladder to her louers hand,
 But in such sort he had himselfe disguised,
 That who it was he could not vnderstand,
 And for due prooffe of this his accusation,
 He bids the combat straight by proclamation.

How sore the king was grieu'd to heare these newes,
 I leaue it as a thing not hard to guesse,
 Lurcanio plaine his daughter doth accuse,
 Of whom the king did looke for nothing lesse :

And this the more his feare and care renews,
 That on this point the lawes are so expresse,
 Except by combat it be prou'd a lie,
 Needs must Geneura be condemned to die.

How hard the Scottish law is in this case,
 I do not doubt but you haue heard it told,
 How she that doth another man embrace,
 Beside her husband, be she yong or old,
 Must die, except within two fortnights space,
 She find a champion stout that will uphold,
 That vnto her no punishment is due,
 But he that doth accuse her is vntrue.

The King (of crime that thinkes Geneura cleare)
 Makes offer her to wed to any knight,
 That will in armes defend his daughter deare,
 And proue her innocent in open fight,
 Yet for all this no champion doth appeare,
 Such feare they haue of this Lurcanios might.
 One gazeth on another as they stand,
 But none of them the combat takes in hand.

And further by ill fortune and mischance,
 Her brother Zerbin now is absent thence,
 And gone to Spaine (I thinke) or else to France,
 Who were he here, she could not want defence,
 Or if perhap so luckie were her chance,
 To send him notice of her need from hence,
 Had she the presence of her noble brother,
 She should not need the aide of any other.

The King that meanes to make a certaine triall,
 If faire Geneura guiltie be or no,
 (For still she stiffly stood in the deniall,
 Of this that wrought her vnderued wo)
 Examines all her maids, but they reply all,
 That of the matter nothing they did know.
 Which made me seeke for to preuent the danger,
 The Duke and I might haue about the stranger.

And thus for him more then my selfe afraid,
 (So faithfull loue to this false Duke I bare)
 I gaue him notice of these things and said,
 That he had need for both of vs beware.
 He praisd my constant loue, and farther praid,
 That I would credit him, and take no care,
 He points two men (but both to me vnknowne)
 To bring me to a castle of his owne.

Now sir, I thinke, you find by this effect,
 How soundly I did loue him from my hart,
 And how I prou'd by plaine course and direct,
 My meaning was not any wayes to start :
 Now marke if he to me bare like respect,
 And marke if he requited my desart.
 Alas how shall a silly wench attaine,
 By louing true to be true lou'd againe ?
 This wicked Duke vngratefull and periured,
 Beginneth now of me to haue mistrust,
 His guiltie conscience could not be assured,
 How to conceale his wicked acts vniust,
 Except my death (though causlesse) be procured,
 So hard his heart, so lawlesse was his lust :
 He said he would me to his castle send,
 But that same castle should haue bene mine end.
 He wild my guides when they were past that hill,
 And to the thicke a little way descended,
 That there (to quite my loue) they should me kill,
 Which as you say they to haue done intended,
 Had not your happie comming stopt their will,
 That (God and you be thank't) I was defended.
 This tale Dalinda to Renaldo told,
 And all the while their iourney on they hold.
 This strange aduenture luckily befell
 To good Renaldo, for that now he found,
 By this Dalinda that this tale did tell,
 Geneuras mind vnspotted cleare and sound,

And now his courage was confirmed well,
 That wanted erst a true and certaine ground :
 For though before for her he meant to fight,
 Yet rather now for to defend the right.

To great S. Andrews towne he maketh hast,
 Whereas the King was set with all his traine,
 Most carefull waiting for the trumpets blast,
 That must pronounce his daughters ioy or paine.
 But now Renaldo spurred had so fast,
 He was arriu'd within a mile or twaine,
 And through the village as he then was riding,
 He met a page that brought them fresher tiding.

How there was come a warriour all disguised,
 That meant to proue Lurcanio said vntrew,
 His colours and his armour well deuised,
 In maner and in making very new :
 And though that sundry sundrily surmised,
 Yet who it was for certaine no man knew.
 His page demaunded of his masters name,
 Did sweare he neuer heard it since he came.

Now came Renaldo to the citie wall,
 And at the gate but little time he staid,
 The porter was so readie at his call :
 That poore Dalinda now grew sore afraid,
 Renaldo bids her not to feare at all,
 For why he would her pardon beg he said :
 So thrusting in among the thickest rout,
 He saw them stand on scaffolds all about.

It straight was told him by the standers by,
 How there was thither come a stranger knight,
 That meant Geneuras innocence to try,
 And that already was begun the fight ;
 And how the greene that next the wall did lie,
 Was raild about of purpose for the sight.
 This newes did make Renaldo hasten in,
 And leaue behind Dalinda at her Inne.

He told her he would come againe ere long,
 And spurs his horse that made an open lane,
 He pierced in the thickest preasse among,
 Whereas these valiant knights had giu'n and tane,
 Full many strokes, with sturdy hand and strong,
 Lurcanio thinks to bring Geneuras bane,
 The tother meanes the Ladie to defend,
 Whom (though vnknowne) they fauor & commend.

There was Duke Pollynesso brauely mounted,
 Vpon a courser of an exc'lent race,
 Sixe knights among the better sort accounted,
 On foote in armes do marshall well the place.
 The Duke by office all the rest surmounted,
 High Constable (as alwayes in such case)
 Who of Geneuras danger was as glad,
 As all the rest were sorrowfull and sad.

Now had Renaldo made an open way,
 And was arriued there in luckie howre,
 To cause the combat to surcease and stay,
 Which these two knights applide with al their powre.
 Renaldo in the court appeard that day,
 Of noble chiuallrie the very flowre,
 For first the Princes audience he praid,
 Then with great expectation thus he said.

Send (noble Prince) quoth he, send by and by,
 And cause forthwith that they surcease the fight,
 For know, that which so ere of these doth die,
 It certaine is he dies against all right.
 One thinks he tels the truth, and tels a lie,
 And is deceiu'd by error in his sight,
 And looke what cause his brothers death procured,
 That very same hath him to fight allured.

The tother of a nature good and kind,
 Not knowing if he hold the right or no,
 To die or to defend her hath assignd,
 Lest so rare beautie should be spilled so.

I harmlesse hope to saue the faultlesse mind :
 And those that mischiefe mind to worke them wo,
 But first ô Prince to stay the fight giue order.
 Before my speech proceedeth any farder.

Renaldos person with the tale he told,
 Mou'd so the king, that straight without delay,
 The knights were bidden both their hands to hold,
 The combat for a time was causd to stay,
 Then he againe with voice and courage bold,
 The secret of the matter doth bewray :
 Declaring plaine how Polynessos lecherie
 Had first contriu'd and now betrayd his trecherie.

And proffreth of this speech to make a prooffe,
 By combat hand to hand with sword and speare ;
 The Duke was cald that stood not farre aloofe,
 And scantly able to conceale his feare ;
 He first denies, as was for his behoofe,
 And straight to battell both agreed were,
 They both were armd, the place before was ready,
 Now must they fight there could be no remedy.

How was the king, how were the people glad,
 That faire Geneura faultlesse there did stand,
 As Gods great goodnesse now reuealed had,
 And should be proued by Renaldos hand.
 All thought the Duke of mind and manners bad,
 The proudest and cruelst man in all the land,
 It likely was as euery one surmised,
 That this deceit by him should be deuised.

Now Polynesso stands with doubtfull brest,
 With fainting heart, with pale dismayed face,
 Their trumpets blew, they set their speares in rest,
 Renaldo commeth on a mightie pace,
 For at this sight he finish will the feast,
 And where to strike him he designes a place :
 His very first encounter was so fierce,
 Renaldos speare the tothers sides did pierce.

And hauing ouerthrowne the Duke by force,
As one vnable so great strokes to bide,
And cast him cleane sixe paces from his horse,
Himselfe alights and th'others helme vntide,
Who making no resistance like a corse,
With faint low voice for mercie now he cride,
And plaine confest with this his latter breath,
The fault that brought him this deserued death.

No sooner had he made this last confession,
But that his life did faile him with his voyce.
Geneuras double scape of foule oppression,
In life and fame did make the King reioyce :
In lieu of her to leese his crownes possession,
He would haue wisht, if such had bene his choice :
To leese his realme he could have bene no sadder :
To get it lost he could haue bene no gladder.

The combat done, Renaldo straight vntide
His beauer, when the King that knew his face,
Gaued thanks to God that did so well prouide,
So doubtlesse helpe in such a dangerous case.
That vnknowne knight stood all this while aside,
And saw the matters passed in the place,
And eu'ry one did muse and maruell much,
What wight it was whose curtesie was such.

The king did aske his name because he ment,
With kingly gifts his seruice to reward,
Affirming plainly that his good intent,
Deserued thanks and very great regard.
The knight with much intreatie did assent,
And to disarm himselfe he straight prepar'd,
But who it was if you vouchsafe to looke,
I will declare it in another booke.



2. *The Story of Timbreo di Cardona.*

—o—

*Narra il sig. Scipione Attellano come il sig. Timbreo di Cardona, essendo col Re Piero d' Aragona in Messina, s' innamora di Fenicia Lionata, e i varj e fortunevoli accidenti che avvennero, prima che per moglie la prendesse.*¹

NOVELLA XXII.

CORRENDO gli anni di nostra salute MCCLXXXIII, i Siciliani, non parendo loro di voler più soffrire il dominio dei Francesi, con inaudita crudeltà, quanti nell' Isola erano, un giorno nell' ora del vespro ammazzarono ; che così per tutta l' Isola era il tradimento ordinato. Nè solamente uomini e donne della nazione Francese uccisero, ma tutte le donne Siciliane, che si potero immaginare esser di Francese nessuno gravide, il dì medesimo svenarono ; e successivamente, se donna alcuna era provata che fosse de Francesse ingravidata, senza compassione era morta ; onde nacque la miserabil voce del vespro Siciliano. Il Re Piero d' Aragona, avuto questo avviso, subito ne venne

¹ [A French translation of this story is in the third volume of Belleforest.]

con l' armata, e presse il dominio dell' Isola; perciocchè Papa Niccolò III. a questo lo sospinse, dicendogli che a lui, come a marito di Costanza figliuola del Re Manfredi, l' Isola apparteneva. Esso Re Piero tenne molti dì in Palermo la Corte molto reale e magnifica, e dell' acquisto dell' Isola faceva meravigliosa festa. Da poi sentendo che il Re Carlo II. figliuolo del Re Carlo primo, che il Reame di Napoli teneva, con grossissima armata veniva per mare per cacciarlo di Sicilia, gli andò all' incontro con l' armata di navi e galere che aveva; e venuti insieme al combattere, fu la mischia grande, e con uccisione di molti crudele. Ma alla fine il Re Piero disfece l' armata del Re Carlo, e quello presse prigionie; e per meglio attendere alle cose della guerra, ritirò la Reina con tutta la Corte a Messina, come in quella Città che è per iscontro all' Italia, e dalla quale con breve tragitto si passa in Calabria. Quivi tenendo egli una Corte molto reale, e per la ottenuta vittoria essendo ogni cosa in allegrezza, ed armeggiandosi tutto, il dì, e facendosi balli, un suo cavalier e barone molto stimato, e il quale il Re Piero, perchè era prode della persona, e nelle passate guerre sempre s' era valorosamente diportato, sommamente amava, d'una giovannetta figliuola di messer Lionato de' Lionati gentiluomo di Messina, la quale oltre ogn' altra della contrada era gentilesca, avvenente e bella, fieramente s' innamorò; e a poco così fattamente di lei s' accese, che senza la soave vista di quella nè sapeva nè voleva vivere. Domandavasi il barone il sig. Timbreo di Cardona, e la fanciulla Fenicia si chiamava. Egli, perciocchè per terra e per mare fin dalla sua fanciullezza aveva sempre il Re Piero servito, fu molto riccamente rimeditato; che oltre gl' infiniti doni che ebbe, il Re in quei dì gli aveva data la contea di Collisano con altre Terre; di maniera che la sua entrata, senza la pensione che dal Re aveva, era di più di 12 mila ducati.

Ora cominciò il sig. Timbreo passar ogni giorno dinanzi la casa della fanciulla, quel dì che la vedeva beato stimandosi. Fenicia, che era, benchè fanciulletta, avveduta e saggia, s' avvide di leggiero della cagione del passeggiar del cavaliere. Era fama che il sig. Timbreo fosse uno dei favoriti appo il Re, e che pochi ci fossero in Corte che valessero quello ch' egli valeva ; onde da tutti era onorato. Il perchè Fenicia, oltra ciò che udito ne aveva, veggendolo molto signorilmente vestito, e con onorata famiglia dietro, ed oltra questo, che era bellissimo giovine, e molto mostrava esser costumato, cominciò anch' ella piacevolmente a guardarlo, ed onestamente farli riverenza. Il cavaliere ogni dì più s' accendeva, e quanto più spesso la mirava, tanto più sentiva la fiamma sua farsi maggiore ; ed essendo tanto nel suo cuore questo nuovo fuoco cresciuto, che tutto si sentiva per amor della bella fanciulla struggere, deliberò, per ogni via che possibil fosse, averla. Ma il tutto fu indarno, perciocchè a quante lettere, messi ed ambasciate ch' egli le mandò, ella altro mai non rispose, se non che la sua virginità ella inviolata serbar intendeva a chi dato le fosse per marito. Il perchè il povero amante si ritrovava molto di mala voglia, e tanto più, quanto che mai non aveva potuto farle ritenere nè lettere nè doni. Tuttavia deliberatosi d' averla, e veggendo la costanza di lei esser tale che, se voleva di quella divenir possessore, bisognava che per moglie la prendesse ; poichè molti discorsi sovra di questo ebbe fatto, conchiuse tra se di farla al padre richieder per moglie. E benchè a lui paresse che molto si abbassava, nondimeno sapendo quella esser d' antico e nobilissimo sangue, deliberò non ci metter più indugio : tanto era l' amore che all fanciulla portava ! Fatta tra se questa deliberazione, ritrovò un gentiluomo Messinese, con cui aveva molta familiarità, e a quello narrò l' animo suo, imponendogli quanto voleva che

con messer Lionata facesse. Andò il Messinese, e il tutto eseguì secondo la commissione avuta dal cavaliere. Messer Lionato, udita così buona nuova, e sapendo di quanta autorità e valore il Signor Timbreo era, senza altrimenti a parenti od amici chieder consiglio, dimostrò con gratissima risposta, quanto gli era caro che il cavalier degnasse seco imparentarsi; ed essendo a casa andato, alla moglie e a Fenicia fece intender la promessa che al signor Timbreo aveva fatta. La cosa estremamente a Fenicia piacque, e con divoto cuore ringraziò il nostro Signor Iddio, che del suo casto amore così glorioso fine le donasse, e in vista si dimostrava molto allegra. Ma la fortuna che mai non cessa l' altrui bene impedire, nuovo modo ritrovò di porre impedimento a così da tutte due le parti desiderate nozze; e udite come. Divolessi per Messina come fra pochi dì il signor Timbreo Cardona doveva sposar Fenicia figliuola di messer Lionato; la qual nuova generalmente piacque a tutti i Messinesi, perciocchè messer Lionato era gentiluomo che da tutti si faceva amare, come colui che a nessuno cercava di dar nocumeno, e a tutti, quanto poteva, giovava; di modo che ciascuno di tal parentado mostrava grandissimo piacere. Era in Messina un altro cavaliere giovine e di nobil famiglia, detto per nome il signor Girondo Olerio Valenziano, il quale della persona sua molto prode in su quelle guerre s' era dimostrato, ed era poi uno degli splendidi e liberali della Corte. Questo, udendo così fatta nuova, restò senza fine di mala voglia, perciocchè poco innanzi s' era delle bellezze di Fenicia innamorato; e così fieramente aveva le fiamme amorose nel petto ricevute, che teneva per fermo di morire, se Fenicia per moglie non aveva. Ed avendo determinato chiederla al padre per moglie, udita la promessa al signor Timbreo fatta, si credette di cordoglio spasimare; e al suo dolore non ritrovando in modo alcuno com-

penso, tanto farneticò su questa cosa, che dalla passione amorosa vinto, non avendo riguardo a ragione alcuna, si lasciò trasportare a far cosa, non solo a cavaliere e gentiluomo com' egli era, ma a ciascuno biasimevole. Egli era stato in tutte l' imprese militari quasi sempre compagno del sig. Timbreo, ed era tra loro una fratellevolle amicizia ; ma di questo amore, che che se ne fosse cagione, sempre s' erano celati l' un l' altro. Pensò adunque il sig. Girondo tra il sig. Timbreo e la sua amante seminare sì fatta discordia, che la promessa del matrimonio si romperebbe ; e in questo caso egli, domandandola al padre per moglie, sperava averla. Nè guari al folle pensiero tardò di dare effetto, e avendo ritrovato al suo sfrenato ed accecato appetito uomo conforme, quello diligentemente dell' animo suo informò. Era costui, che il signor Girondo si aveva per confidente e ministro della scelleratezza preso, un giovine cortegiano, uomo di poca levatura, e a cui più il male che il bene piaceva ; il quale, essendo della cosa che doveva tramare ottimamente instrutto, n' andò il seguente mattino a ritrovar il signor Timbreo, che ancora non era di casa uscito, ma tutto solo in un giardino dell' albergo si diportava. Ed entrato il giovine nell' orto, fu dal signor Timbreo, veggendolo in verso se venire, cortesemente raccolto. Quivi dopo i comuni saluti, in questo modo il giovine al signor Timbreo disse : Signor mio, io sono a questa ora venuto per parlar teco di cose di grandissima importanza, che la tuo onore ed utile appartengono ; e perché potrei dir qualche cosa, che forse l' animo tuo offenderia, ti prego che mi perdoni ; e scusimi appo te la mia servitù, e pensa che a buon fine mosso mi sono. Questo so ben io, che ciò che ora ti dirò, se tu sarai quel gentil cavaliere che sempre sei stato, ti recherà profitto pur assai. Ora venendo al fatto, ti dico che jeri intesi come ti sei convenuto con messer Lionato

de' Lionati per sposar Fenicia sua figliuola per tua moglie. Guarda, signor mio, ciò che tu fai, e abbi riguardo all' onor tuo. Questo ti dico, perché un gentiluomo amico mio, quasi due e tre volte la settimana si va a giacer seco, e gode dell' amor di lei; e questa sera deve medesimamente andarci, ed io, come l' altre volte soglio, a simil fatto l' accompagno. Quando tu voglia darmi la parola tua, e giurarmi di non offender nè me nè l' amico mio, farò che tu stesso il luogo e il tutto vedrai. E acciò che tu sappia, sono molti mesi che questo amico mio gode costei. La servitù che teco ho, e i molti piaceri che tu, la tua mercè, fatti m' hai, a palesarti questo m' inducono; sicchè ora farai quello che più di tuo profitto ti parra: a me basta aver in questo fatto quell' ufficio, che al debito mio verso te appartiene. A queste parole rimase il sig. Timbreo tutto stordito, e di modo fuor di se, che quasi fu per uscire di sentimento. E poi che buona pezza stette, mille cose tra se rivolgendo, in lui più potendo l' accerbo, e al parer suo, giusto sdegno, che il fervido e leal amore che alla bella Fenicia portava; sospirando, al giovine così rispose: amico mio, io non debbo nè posso se non restarti eternamente obligatissimo, veggendo quanto amorevolmente di me e dell' onor mio cura ti prendi, e un giorno ti farò conoscer con effet, to quanto tenuto ti sono. Però per ora quanto più so e posso ti rendo quelle grazie, che per me si ponno le maggiori. E poichè di grado t' offeri a farmi veder quello che mai non mi sarei immaginato, io ti priego, per quella carità che spinto ti ha di questo fatto ad avvisarmi, che tu liberamente l' amico tuo accompagni; ed io t' impegno la fede mia che da real cavaliere nèa te nè al tuo amico darò nocumento alcuno, e questa cosa terrò sempre celata, acciò che l' amico tuo posa goder questo suo amore in pace; che io doveva esser

più avvisto da prima, ed aprendo ben gli occhi, spiare minutamente il tutto con diligenza. Disse adunque all' ultimo il giovine al signor Timbreo: voi, signor mio, questa notte alle tre ore anderete verso la casa di messer Lianoto, e in quelle rovine di edificj, che sono dirimpetto al giardino di esso messer Lionato, vi porrete in aguato. Rispondeva à quella parte una facciata del palazzo di messer Lionato, ove era una sala antica, alle cui finestre, che giorno e notte stavano aperte, soleva talora dimostrarsi Fenicia, perciocchè meglio da quella banda si godeva la bellezza del giardino; ma messer Lionato con la famiglia abitava nell' altra parte, e il palazzo era antico e molto grande, e capace non della gente d' un gentiluomo, ma d' una Corte d' un' prencipe. Ora dato l' ordine detto, il fallace giovine si partì, e andò a ritrovar il perfido Girondo, a cui disse il tutto che aveva col signor Timbreo Cardona ordinato. Del che il signor Girondo fece meravigliosa festa, parendogli che il suo disegno gli riuscisse a pennello; onde venuta l' ora statuita, il disleal Girondo vestì onoratamente un suo servidore, di quanto aveva a far già instrutto, e quello di soavissimi odori profumò. Andò il profumato servidore di compagnia del giovine che al signor Timbreo aveva parlato, e loro appresso seguiva un altro con uno scalapertico in spalla. Ora qual fosse l' animo del signor Timbreo, e quanti e quali fossero i pensieri che per la mente gli passarono tutto il dì, che potrebbe a pieno narrare? io per me so che mi affaticherei indarno. Il troppo credulo e sfortunato signore, dal velo di gelosia accecato, quel giorno nulla o poco mangiò; e chiunque in viso il mirava, giudicava che più morto che vivo fosse. Egli di mezz' ora innanzi il termine posto, s' andò appiattare in quel luogo rovinoso, di tal maniera che poteva benissimo vedere chiunque quindi passava, parendoli pur impossibile che Fenicia s' avesse dato altrui in preda. Diceva poi tra se che le fanciulle

sono mobili, legiere, instabili, sdegnose ed appetitose di cose nuove; e ora dannandola, ora scusandola, stava a ogni movimento attento. Non era molto scura la notte, ma forte queta; ed ecco che egli cominciò a sentir lo stropiccio dei piedi di quelli che venivano, ed anco qualche paroluccia, ma imperfetta. In questo vide i tre che passavano; e ben conobbe il giovine che la mattina l'aveva avvisato, ma gli altri due non potè egli raffigurare. Nel passare che i tre dinanzi gli fecero, sentì che il profumato, in forma d'amante vestito, disse a colui che portava la scala: vedi che tu ponga la scala così destramente alla finestra che tu non faccia romore, perchè poichè noi ci fummo, la mia sig. Fenicia mi disse che tu l'avevi appoggiata con troppo strepito. Fa destro e chetamente il tutto. Queste parole sentì chiaramente il sig. Timbreo, che al cuore gli erano tanti pungenti ed acuti spiedi. E quantunque fosse solo, ed altre armi che la spada non avesse; e quelli che passavano, avessero, oltre le spade, due arme astate, e forse fossero armati; nondimeno tanta e sì mordace era la gelosia che gli rodeva il cuore, e sì grande lo sdegno che lo infiammava, che egli fu vicino dell'aguato uscire, ed animosamente quegli assalendo, ammazzar colui, che amante esser della Fenicia giudicava, o vero restando morto, finire in un' ora tanti affanni, quanti per soverchia pena miseramente sofferiva. Ma sovvenutoli della data fede, e grandissima viltà e sceleraggine stimando i già affidati dalla sua parola assalire, tutto pieno di collera, di stizza, d'ira e di furore, in se rodendosi, attese della cosa il fine. Così i tre, giunti dinanzi alla finestra della casa di messer Lionato, a quella banda che si è detto, molto soavemente al balcone la scala appoggiarono; e colui che l'amante rappresentava, su vi salì, ed entrò nella casa, come se dentro avesse avuto fidanza. Il che poichè lo sconsolato sig. Timbreo ebbe veduto, e credendo ferma-

mente che colui che salito era, se n' andasse con Fenicia a giacere, assalito da fierissimo cordoglio, si sentì tutto svenire. Ma tanto pure in lui il giusto sdegno, com' egli credeva, potè, che cacciata via ogni gelosia, il fervente sincero amore che a Fenicia portava non solamente in tutto s' affreddò, ma in crudel odio si converse. Onde non volendo altrimenti aspettare che il suo rivale venisse fuori dal luogo ov' era appiattato, partì e al suo albergo se ne ritornò. Il giovine, che veduto l'avea partire, e chiaramente conosciuto, quello di lui pensò che in effetto era. Il perchè non dopo molto fece un suo segno, e il salito servidore dismontò, e di brigata a casa del sig. Girondo se n' andarono; al quale narrato il tutto, egli fece di questo meravigliosa festa, e già gli pareva esser della bella Fenicia possessore. Il sig. Timbreo, che molto poco il rimanente della notte aveva dormito, si levò molto a buon' ora; e fattos chiamar quel cittadino Messinese, col cui niezzo aveva al padre domandata Fenicia per moglie, a lui impose quanto voleva che facesse. Costui dell' animo e volontà del sig. Timbreo pienamente informato e da lui astretto, sull' ora del desinare andò a trovar messer Lionato, che nella sala passeggiava, aspettando che il desinare fosse ad ordine; ove medesimamente era l' innocente Fenicia, che in compagnia di due sorelle di lie minori e della madre certi suoi lavori di seta trapungeva. Quivi il cittadino giunto, e da messer Lionato graziosamente raccolto, così disse: messer Lionato, io ho a fare un messo a voi, alla donna vostra e a Fenicia per parte del sig. Timbreo. Siate il ben venuto, rispose egli; e che ci è? Moglie e tu Fenicia, venite ad intender meco ciò che il sig. Timbreo ci fa intendere. Allora il messo di questa maniera parlò: egli si suol comunemente dire che Ambasciatore in riferir quanto gli è imposto non deve pena alcuna patire. Io vengo a voi mandato da altri, e duolmi

infinitamente ch' io vi rechi nuova che vi annoi. Il sig. Timbreo di Cardona, a voi messer Lionato e alla donna vostra manda dicendo, che voi vi provvediate d' un altro genere, imperocchè egli non intende d' aver voi per suoceri; non già per mancamento vostro, i quali egli crede e tiene esser leali e da bene, ma per aver veduto con gli occhi suoi cosa in Fenicia, che mai creduto non avrebbe; e per questo a voi lascia il provveder ai casi vostri. A te mo, Fenicia, dice egli che l' amore che a te portava, mai non doveva ricever il guiederdone che dato gli hai, e che d' altro marito tu ti proveggia, siccome d' altro amante ti sei provista, o vero quello pigli, a cui la tua verginità donasti; perciocchè egli non intende aver teco practica alcuna, poichè prima il facesti sire di Corneto che marito. Fenicia, udendo questa amara e vituperosa ambasciata, restò come morta: il simile fece messer Lionato con la donna sua. Tuttavia pigliando animo e lena, che quasi per isvenimento gli era mancata, così messer Lionato al messo dissefrate, io sempre dubitai dal primo punto che mi parlasti di questo maritaggio, che il signor Timbreo non starebbe saldo nella sua domanda; perciocchè io conosceva bene e conosco, che io son povero gentiluomo e non par suo. Nondimeno e' mi pare che se egli era pentito di pigliar moglie, doveva bastargli dire che non la voleva, e non imporle così vituperosa macchia di bagascia, come fa. Gli è ben vero che ogni cosa fattibile può essere, ma io so come mia figliuola è stata allevata, e quali sono i suoi costumi. Iddio giusto giudice farà un giorno, spero, conoscer la verità. Con questa risposta partì il cittadino, e messer Lionato restò con questa opinione, che il signor Timbreo si fosse pentito di far il parentado, parendogli che forse troppo si abbassasse e tralignasse da' suoi maggiori. Era il legnaggio di messer Lionato in Messina antichissimo e

nobile e di molta riputazione, ma le sue ricchezze erano di privato gentiluomo, ancorchè antica memoria ci fosse, che i suoi vecchi avevano avute di molte terre e castella con amplissima giurisdizione. Ma per le varie mutazioni dell' Isola, e per le guerre civili erano delle lor signorie decaduti, come in altre assai famiglie si vede. Ora non avendo mai il buon padre nella figliuola veduto cosa meno che onestissima, pensò che il cavaliere la lor povertà e presente fortuna a sdegno s' avesse preso. Dall' altro canto Fenicia, a cui per estrema doglia e svenimento di cuore erano venuti alcuni accidenti, sentendosi a grandissimo torto incolpare, come fanciulla tenera e delicata, e non avvezza ai colpi di perversa fortuna, abbandonando se stessa, più cara la morte avria avuto che la vita; onde da grave e penetrevole dolore assalita, si lasciò andare come morta, e perdendo subito il nativo colore, più a una statua di marmo che a creatura rassembrava; il perchè fu di peso sovra un letto portata. Quivi con panni caldi ed altri rimedj dopo non molto furono gli smarriti spiriti rivocati. Ed essendosi mandato per i medici, la fama per Messina si sparse, come Fenicia figliuola di messer Lionato infermava sì gravemente, ch' era in pericolo della vita. A questa voce vennero di molto gentildonne parenti ed amiche a visitar la sconsolata Fenicia, e intendendo la cagione del male, si sforzavano alla meglio che sapevano di consolarla. E come tra la moltitudine delle donne suol avvenire, sovra così pietoso caso varie cose dicevano, e tutte generalmente con agre rampogne il sig. Timbreo biasimavano. Erano per la maggior parte intorno al letto della giovane inferma; onde Fenicia, avendo ottimamente inteso quello che detto s' era, ripigliando alquanto di lena, e veggendo che per pietà di lei quasi tutte lagrimavano, con debol voce pregò tutte che s' acchetassero. Poi così languidamente disse: onorande madri e sorelle, rasciugate

omai queste lagrime, perciocchè a voi non giovano, e a me sono elle di nuova doglia cagione, e al caso occorso niente di profitto recano. Egli è così piaciuto a nostro signor Iddio, e conviene aver pazienza. La doglia che io acerbissima sento, e che mi va a poco a poco troncando lo stame della vita, non è ch' io sia repudiata, ancor chè senza fine mi doglia ; ma il modo di questo repudio è quello che mi trafigge fin sul vivo, e che senza rimedio mi accora. Poteva il sig. Timbreo dire che io non gli piaceva per moglie, e il tutto stava bene ; ma col modo che mi rifiuta, io so che appo tutti i Messinesi io acquisto biasimo eterno di quel peccato, che mai, non dirò, feci, ma certo di far non ci pensai già mai. Tuttavia io, come putta, sarò sempre mostrata a dito. Io ho sempre confessato, e di nuovo confesso che il grado mio non s' agguagliava a tal cavaliere e barone, qual' è il sig. Timbreo ; che tanto alto maritarmi le poche facoltà dei miei non ricercavano. Ma per nobiltà ed antichità di sangue, si sa quello che sono i Lionati, come quelli che sono i più antichi e nobili di tutta questa Isola ; essendo noi discesi da nobilissima famiglia Romana prima che il signor nostro Gesù Cristo incarnasse, come per antichissime scritture si fa fede. Ora siccome per le poche ricchezze dico che io non era degna di tanto cavaliere, dico altresì che indegnissimamente sono rifiutata ; concioè sia cosa chiarissima che io mai non ho pensato di dar di me ad altrui quello che il diritto vuole che al marito sia serbato. Sallo Iddio che io dico il vero, il cui santo nome sempre sia lodato e riverito. E chi sa se la Maestà Divina con questo mezzo mi voglia salvare ? Che forse essendo tant' alto mariatta, mi sarei levata in superbia, e divenuta altiera, con sprezzar questo e quella, e forse meno avrei conosciuto la bontà di Dio verso me. Or faccia Iddio di me quello che più gli aggrada, e mi doni che questo mio travaglio ceda a salvezza dell' anima mia ; poi con tutto il

cuore lo prego divotissimamente, che al signor Timbreo apra gli occhi, non perchè mi ritaglia per sposa, che a poco a poco morir mi sento, ma acciò che egli, a cui la mia fede è stata di poco prezzo, insieme con tutto il mondo conosca che io mai non commisi quella follia e sì vituperoso errore, di cui contra ogni ragione sono incolpata, acciocchè se con questa infamia [moro, in qualche tempo discolpata resti. Godasi egli altra donna, a cui Iddio l' ha destinato, e lungamente seco viva in pace; a me di qui a poche ore quattro braccia di terra basteranno. Mio padre e mia madre e tutti i nostri amici e parenti in tanta pena abbiano almeno questo poco di consolazione, che dell' infamia che mi è apposta io sono innocentissima, e pigliano per testimonio la mia fede, la quale io do loro, come ubbidiente figliuola deve dare, che maggior pegno nè testimonio al mondo non posso io al presente dare. E mi basti che innanzi al giusto tribunale di Cristo conosciuta sia di tale infamia innocente; e così a lui, che me la diede, raccomando l' anima mia, che desiosa d' uscire di queste carcere terreno verso lui prenda il cammino. Detto questo, fu tanta la grandezza del dolore che intorno al cuore se le inchiovò, e sì fieramente lo strinse, che ella volendo non so che più oltra dire, cominciò a perder la favella, e balbutire parole mozzate, che da nessuno erano intese; e tutto insieme se le sparse per ogni membro un sudor freddissimo, in modo che incrocicchiate le mani, si lasciò andar per morta. In questo i medici, che quivi ancora erano, non potendo in parte alcuna a sì fiero accidente dar compenso, per morta l' abbandonarono, dicendo che l' acerbità del dolore era stata sì grande che l' aveva accorata, e si partirono. Nè guari si stette che Fenicia nelle braccia di quelle sue amiche e parenti fredda e senza polso rimase, che da tutte fu giudicata per morta; e fatto ritornar uno dei medici, disse, non le trovando polso, che era morta. Quanti

allora per lei crudi lamenti, quante lagrime, quanti sospiri pietosi fossero sparsi, a voi, pietose donne, pensar il lascio. Il povero e lagrimoso padre, la scapigliata e dolente madre avrebbero fatto piangere i sassi. Tutte l'altre donne, e gli altri che là erano, facevano un miserabil lamento. Già erano passate da cinque in sei ore, e si dava l'ordine della sepoltura per il giorno seguente. La madre assai più morta che via, poichè la moltitudine delle donne fu partita, ritenne seco una sua cognata, moglie d' un fratello di messer Lionato; e tutte due insieme, non volendo altra persona seco, fatto porre dell' acqua al fuoco, in camera si chiusero; e spogliata Fenicia, quella cominciarono con acqua calda lavare. Erano stati circa sette ore gli smarriti spiriti di Fenicia a spasso, quando, mentre erano le fredde membra lavate, ritornarono al lor ufficio; e dando la fanciulla manifesti segni che era viva, cominciò alquanto aprir gli occhi. La madre e la cognata furono quasi per gridare; tuttavia facendo buon animo, le posero la mano al cuore, e quello sentirono dar alcuni movimenti. Il perchè credettero fermamente la fanciulla esser viva; onde con panni caldi ed altri argomenti, senza far strapito nessuno, fecero tanto che Fenicia quasi del tutto in se rivenne, ed aprendo ben gli occhi, con un grave sospiro disse; oimè, ove son io? Non vedi, disse la madre, che tu sei qui meco e con tua zia? Egli ti era venuto un isvenimento di tal fierezza, che noi credevamo che tu fossi morta; ma lodato sia Iddio, che tu sei pur viva. Ah! quanto era meglio, ripose Fenicia, che io fossi morta ed uscita di tanti affanni. Figliuola mia, dissero la madre e la zia, e' si vuol vivere, poichè così piace a Dio; e al tutto si darà rimedio. La madre, celando l' allegrezza che aveva, aperto un poco l' uscio della camera, fece chiamar messer Lionato, che incontante venne. Com' egli vide la figliuola in se ritornata,

se fu allegro non è da domandare ; e molte cose tra se divise, primieramente egli non volle che persona alcuna di questo fatto sapesse nulla, deliberando mandar la figliuola fuor di Messina alla villa del suo fratello, la cui moglie era quivi presente. Poi ricreata la fanciulla con cibi delicati e preziosi vini, e quella alla primiera beltà e fortezza ridotta, mandò a chiamar il fratello, e quello, di quanto intendeva che facesse, ottimamente instrusse. Fu adunque l'ordine, che tra loro si compose, tale : condusse messer Girolamo, che così aveva, nome il fratello di messer Lionato, la notte seguente Fenicia in casa sua, e quivi in compagnia della moglie segretissimamente la tenne. Poi fatto provigione nella villa di quello che bisognava, mandò una mattina a buon' ora fuori essa sua moglie con Fenicia e una sua figliuola e una sorella di Fenicia, che era di tredici in quattordici anni, e Fenicia ne aveva sedici. Fecero questo, acciocchè Fenicia crescendo, e cangiando, come con l'età si fa, aria, la potesse poi fra due o tre anni sotto altro nome maritare. Il seguente giorno dopo l'accidente occorso, essendo per tutta Messina la voce che Fenicia era morta, fece messer Lionato ordinare l'esequie secondo il grado suo ; e fatta far una cassa, in quella, senza che nessuno se accorgessè, non volendo la madre di Fenicia che nessuno se ne impacciasse, fece mettere non so che, e riserrò la cassa, ed inchiodatala, la fece turar di pece ; di maniera che ciascheduno teneva per fermo che colà dentro fosse il corpo di Fenicia. Da poi sulla sera, essendo messer Lionato con i parenti vestiti di nero, accompagnarono la cassa alla Chiesa, mostrando così il padre e la madre tanta estrema doglia, come se il vero corpo della figliuola avessero alla sepoltura accompagnato. Il che moveva generalmente ciascuno a pietà, perchè divulgata la cagione della morte, tutti i Messinesi tennero per certo che il cavaliere quella favola s'avesse finta. Fu adunque

l' arca messa in terra con general pianto di tutta le Città ; e sovra l' arca fatto un deposito di pietre, e quello con l' insegne dei Lionati dipinto, messer Lionato ci fece scrivere sopra questo Epitaffio :

*Fenicia fu'l mio nome, e 'ndegnamente
A crudo cavalier fui maritata,
Che poi pentito ch' io gli fossi data,
Femmi di grave error parer nocente.
Io ch' era verginella ad innocente,
Come mi vidi a torto sì macchiata,
Prima volli morir, che esser mostrata
A dito, oimè ! per putta da la gente.
Nè fu bisogno ferro al mio morire,
Che 'l dolor fiero più che 'l ferro valse,
Quando contra ragion m' udii schernire.
Morendo, Iddio pregai che l' opre false
Al fin facesse al mondo scoprire,
Poi ch' al mio sposo di mia fè non calse.*

Fatte le lagrimose esequie, e parlandosi largamente in ogni luogo della cagione della morte di Fenicia, e varj ragionamenti su questo facendosi, e tutti mostrando di così pietoso accidente compassione, come di cosa che fosse stata finta ; il signor Timbreo cominciò a sentir grandissima doglia, con un certo inchiavamento di cuore, che non sapeva che immaginarsi. A lui pareva pure che non dovesse esser biasimato, avendo egli veduto salire su per la scala un uomo, ed entrare in casa. Poi meglio pensando alle cose vedute, ed essendosi già lo sdegno in gran parte intiepidito, e la ragione aprendoli gli occhi ; diceva fra se che forse colui che era in casa entrato, poteva essere, o per altra donna o per rubare, là su salito. Sovvenivagli poi che la casa di messer Lionato era grandissima, e che in quella parte, ove l' uomo era ascenso, nessuno abitava ; e che non poteva essere che dormendo Fenicia in compagnia delle sorelle nella camera di dentro

a quella e di suo padre e di sua madre, fosse putata venire a quella banda, convenendole passar per la camera del padre; di modo che combattuto ed afflitto da' suoi pensieri, non ritrovava riposo. Medesimamente il sig. Girondo, udita la maniera della morte di Fenicia, e conoscendo chiaramente se esser stato il manigoldo ed omicida di quella, sì perchè fieramente era di lei accesso, ed altresì per esser stato la vera cagione di tanto scandalo, si sentiva scoppiare di soverchia doglia il cuore, e quasi disperato fu per ficarsi un pugnale nel petto due o tre volte. E non potendo nè mangiar nè dormire, stavasi come uno smemorato, anzi pure spiritato; e farneticando ad ogn' ora, non poteva pigliar nè requie nè riposo. All' fine essendo fatto il settimo dì dei funerali di Fenicia, e non li parendo più poter vivere, se al sig. Timbreo non scropriva scelleratezza che fatta aveva, nell' ora che ciascuno se n' andava a casa per desinare, andò verso il palazzo del Re, ed incontrò esse sig. Timbreo che dalla corte all' albergo suo se n' andava, al quale così il sig. Girondo disse: Signor Timbreo, egli non vi sia grave venir meco qui presso per un mio servizio. Egli, che il sig. Girondo da compagno amava, seco se n' andò di varie cose ragionando; onde in pochi passi vennero alla chiesa, ove il sepolcro di Fenicia era stato fatto. Quivi giunti, comandò il sig. Girondo ai servidori che nessun di loro entrasse in chiesa, pregando il sig. Timbreo che altrettanto comandasse ai suoi, il che egli fece di subito. Entrarono adunque tutti due soli in chiesa, nella quale non era persona, ed il sig. Girondo inviatosi alla cappella dove era la sinta sepoltura, colà condusse il signor Timbreo. Come furono dentro, il signor Girondo inginocchiatosi innanzi alla sepoltura, e sfoderato un pugnale che a lato aveva, quello così ignudo diede in mano al sig. Timbreo, che tutto pieno di meraviglia attendeva che cosa fosse questa, ed ancora non s' era

avvisto che sepoltura fosse quella, innanzi a cui il suo compagno s'era inginocchiato. Poi pieno di singhiozzi e di lagrime così al sig. Timbreo parlò: magnanimo e gentil cavaliere, avendoti io, per mio giudizio, infinitamente offeso, non sono venuto qui per chiederti perdono, perciocchè il mio fallo è tale che non merita perdono. Però se mai pensi far cosa degna del tuo valore, se credi operar cavalierescamente, se desideri far opera accetta a Dio e grata al mondo, metti quel ferro che in mano hai in questo scellerato e traditor petto; e del mio vizioso ed abbominevol sangue fa convenevol sacrificio a queste santissime ossa dell'innocente e sfortunata Fenicia, che in questo deposito fu questi dì seppellita, imperochè della sua indegna ed immatura morte io maliziosamente sono stato la sola cagione. E se tu più di me pietoso, che io pur di me stesso non sono, questo mi negherai, io con queste mani quella vendetta di me prenderò, che per me ultimamente si potrà. Ma se tu sarai quel vero e leal cavaliere che fin qui sei stato, che mai una minima ombra di macchia nonolesti soffrire, di te e della sventurata Fenicia insieme prenderai debita vendetta. Il signor Timbreo, avvistosi che quello era il deposito del corpo della bella Fenicia, e sentite le parole che il signior Girondo diceva, era quasi di se stesso fuori, non sapendosi imaginare che cosa fosse questa; e pure da non so che commosso cominciò amaramente a lagrimare, pregando il sig. Girondo che in piè si levasse, e più chiaramente dicesse questa istoria, e con questo gettò via il pugnale lungi da se. Poi tanto fece e disse, che il sig. Girondo in piè levatosi, tuttavia piangendo, così gli rispose. Tu dei saper, sig. mio, che Fenicia ardentissimamente fu da me amata, e di tal modo che se io cento età campassi, mai più non spero trovar sostegno nè conforto; perciocchè l'amor mio alla sgraziata fanciulla fu d'amarissima morte cagione, che veggendo io che

da lei mai non potei aver una buona guardatura, nè un minimo cenno a' miei desiri conforme, quando intesi che a te fu per moglie promessa, accecato dal mio sfrenato appetito m' imaginai che se io ritrovava modo che tua moglie non divenisse, di leggiero, chiedendola poi io al padre, l' avrei sposata. Nè potendomi imaginar altro compenso al mio ferventissimo amore, e più innanzi non considerando, ordinai una trama la più alta del mondo, e con inganno ti feci veder uno andarle la notte in casa, il quale era uno dei miei servidori. E colui che ti venne a parlare, e darti ad intendere che Fenicia aveva l' amor suo altrui donato, fu da me del tutto instrutto, e sospinto a farti l' ambisciata che ti fece; onde fu il seguente giorno Fenicia da te repudiata, e per tal repudio la sfortunata se ne morì, e qui fu seppellita. Il perchè essendo io stato il beccajo, il manigoldo e il crudel assassino, che tanto fieramente e te e lei ho offesi, con le braccia in croce (e allora di nuovo s' inginocchiò) ti supplico che della commessa da me scelleraggine tu voglia pigliar la condecante vendetta; imperocchè pensando di quanto scandalo sono stato cagione, ho il vivere a sdegno. Queste cose udendo il sig. Timbreo piangeva molto amaramente, e conoscendo il già commesso errore esser irreparabile, e che essendo Fenicia morta non poteva più tornare in vita, pensò non voler contra il sig. Girondo incrudelire, ma perdonandogli ogni fallo, far che la fama fosse a Fenicia reintegrata, e resolse l' onore, che senza cagione era con sì gran vituperio levato. Volle adunque che il signor Girondo si levasse in piede, a cui dopo molti caldi sospiri d' amarissime lagrime mischj, in tal forma parlò. Quanto era meglio per me, fratel mio, che io mai non fossi nasciuto, o dovendo pur venire al mondo, fossi nato sordo; acciò che mai non avessi udito cosa tanto a me noiosa e grave, per la quale mai più non vivèrò lieto, pensando che io, per troppo credere,

abbia colei morta, il cui amore e le singolari ed eccellenti virtù e doti, che in quella il Re del Cielo aveva collocate, da me altro guiderdone meritavano, che infamia vituperosissima e così immatura morte ! Ma poichè così Iddio ha permesso, contra il cui volere non si muove in arbore foglia, e che le cose passate più tosto si ponno riprendere che emendare, io non intendo di te altra vendetta prendere ; che perdendo amico sovra amico, sarebbe accrescere doglia a doglia, nè per tutto questo la benedetta anima di Fenicia ritornerebbe al suo castissimo corpo, che ha fatto il suo corso. D' una cosa ti voglio ben riprendere, accio che mai più in simil errore non caschi ; e questo è che tu dovevi scoprirmi il tuo amore, sapendo che io ne era innamorato, e nulla di te sapeva ; perciocchè io innanzi che al padre l' avessi fatta richiedere, in questa amorosa impresa ti avrei ceduto, e come sogliono fare i magnanimi e generosi spiriti, me stesso vincendo, avrei anteposto la nostra amicizia all' appetito mio ; e forse che tu, udite le mie ragioni, ti saresti da questa impresa ritratto, e non sarebbe seguito lo scandolo che è successo. Ora la cosa è fatta, e rimedio non ci è a far che fatta non sia. In questa vorrei bene che tu mi compiacesti, e facessi quanto ti dirò. Comanda, signor mio, disse il sig. Girondo, che il tutto senza eccezione farò. Io vo', soggiunse il sig. Timbreo, che essendo da noi Fenicia stata a torto per bagascia incolpata, noi quanto per tutti due si potrà, le restituiamo la fama, e le rendiamo il debito onore, prima appo gli sconsolati suoi parenti, da poi appo tutti i Messinesi ; periocchè divulgatosi quanto io le feci dire, può di leggiero tutta la Città credere ch' ella fosse una putta. Altrimenti a me di continovo parrebbe aver dinanzi agli occhi l' adirata ombra di lei, che fieramente contra me vendetta a Dio sempre gridasse. A questo, piangendo sempre, il sig. Girondo subito rispose : a te, signore, appartiene il comandare,

e a me l'ubbidire. Io prima per amicizia ti era congiunto, ora per l'ingiuria che fatta ti ho, e che tu, come troppo pietoso e leal cavaliere, a me perfido e villano così cortesemente perdoni, ti resto eternamente servidore e schiavo. Dette queste parole, ambidue amaramente piangendo, s'inginocchiarono innanzi alla sepoltura, e con le braccia in croce umilmente, l'uno della sceleraggine fatta, e l'altro della troppa credulità, a Fenicia e a Dio domandarono perdono. Da poi rasciugati gli occhi, volle il sig. Timbreo che a casa di messer Lionato il sig. Gironde seco n'andasse. Andarono adunque di brigata alla casa, e trovarono che messer Lionato, che insieme con alcuni suoi parenti aveva desinato, si levava da tavola; il quale, come udì che questi due cavalieri gli volevano parlare, tutto pieno di meraviglia si fece loro incontro, e disse che fossero i ben venuti. I due cavalieri, come videro messer Lionato con la moglie vestiti di nero, per la crudel rimembranza della morte di Fenicia cominciarono a pianegre, e appena potevano parlare. Ora fatto recar due scanni, e tutti postisi a sedere, dopo alcuni sospiri e singhiozzi il sig. Timbreo, alla presenza di quanti quivi erano, narrò la dolorosa istoria, cagione dell'acerbissima ed immatura morte, come credeva, di Fenicia; e insieme col sig. Gironde si gettò a terra, chiedendo al padre e alla madre di così fatta scelleratezza perdono. Messer Lionato di tenerezza e di gioja piangendo, ambidue amorevolmente abbracciando, perdonò loro ogni ingiuria, ringraziando Iddio che sua figliuola fosse conosciuta innocente. Il sig. Timbreo, dopo molti ragionamenti, a messer Lionato rivolto, gli disse: Signor padre, poichè la mala sorte non ha voluto che io vi resti genero, come era mio sommo desio, vi prego e quanto più posso, astringo che di me e delle cose mie vogliate prevalervi, come se il parentato fosse tra noi seguito; perciocchè sempre vi avrò in quella riverenza ed osser-

vanza, che amorevole obbediente figliuolo deve avere al padre. E se degnerete comandarmi, troverte che l'opere mie saranno conformi alle mie parole; perciocchè io non so certamente cosa al mondo, quantunque difficile, che io per voi non facessi. A questo il buon vecchio ringraziò con amorevoli parole il sig. Timbreo, e in fine gli disse. Poichè sì largamente tante cortesie offerte mi fate, e che fortuna avversa m'ha fatto indegno della vostra affinità, una cosa piglierò ardire di supplicarvi, la quale a voi sarà facile a fare; e quest'è, che io vi prego per quella lealtà che in voi regna, e per quanto amore mai portaste alla poverella Fenicia, che quando vorrete pigliar moglie, sarete contento farmelo intendere, e dandovi io donno che vi piaccia, quella prenderete. Parendo al sig. Timbreo che lo sconsolato vecchio picciola ricompensa di tanta perdita, quanta fatta aveva, chiedesse, porgendogli la mano e in bocca baciato, così gli rispose. Sig. padre, poichè così leggera cosa mi ricercate, essendovi io di molto maggior obbligato, e desiderando farvi conoscere quanto io desideri farvi cosa grata, non solamente non prenderò donna senza saputa vostra, ma quella sola sposerò che voi mi consiglierete e darete; e così sulla fede mia alla presenza di tutti questi signori gentiluomini vi prometto. Fece medesimamente il sig. Girondo le belle parole a messer Lionato, offerendosi sempre prontissimo a' suoi piaceri. Fatto questo, i due cavalieri andarono a desinare; e la cosa, come era, per Messina si sparse, in modo che appo tutti fu chiaro Fenicia indegnamente esser stata incolpata. Similmente quel dì stesso fu Fenicia dal padre, per un messo a posta, avvisata di quanto era occorso. Del che ella fece meravigliosa festa, e divotamente Iddio ringraziò del ricuperato onore. Ora era passato circa un anno, che Fenicia stava in villa, ove sì bene andò la bisogna, che mai nessuno seppe che fosse viva. Tra questo mezzo il

signor Timbreo tenne stretta pratica con messer Lionato, il quale, avvisata Fenicia di quanto intendeva fare, metteva ad ordine le cose al suo proposito pertinenti; e in questo tempo Fenicia oltra ogni credenza era divenuta bellissima, ed aveva compiti i diciassette anni di sua età; e in modo era cresciuta, che chi veduta l'avesse, non l'avrebbe mai per Fenicia conosciuta, massimamente tenendo quella già esser morta. La sorella che seco stava, ed era di circa quindici anni, e Belfiore aveva nome, pareva proprio un bellissimo fiore, di maniera che poco meno beltà dimostrava della sorella sua maggiore. Il che veggendo messer Lionato, che sovente le andava a vedere, deliberò non tardar più di metter ad effetto il suo pensiero; onde essendo un dì in compagnia dei due cavalieri, disse sorridendo al signor Timbreo: Tempo è oggimai, signor mio, che dell'obbligo che voi, la vostra mercè, meco avete, vi scioglia. Io penso avervi trovata per moglie una giovane gentilissima e bella, della quale, secondo il parer mio, quando l'avrete vista, vi contenterete. E se forse con tanto amore non sarà da voi presa, con quanto eravate per sposar Fenicia, di questo v'assicuro ben io che minor beltà, minor nobiltà e minor gentilezza voi non piglierete. Dell'altre donnesche doti e gentilissimi costumi ella, ia Dio mercè, ne è abbondevolmente fornita et ornata. Voi la vedrete, e poi sarà in libertà vostra far tutto quello che più a vostro profitto vi parrà. Domenica mattina io ne verrò all'albergo vostro con quella compagnia, che tra parenti ed amici miei sceglierò; e voi insieme col sig. Girondo sarete ad ordine, perciocchè conviene che andiamo fuor di Messina circa a tre miglia ad una villa, ove udiremo messa, e poi si vedrà la giovane, di cui v'ho parlato, e di brigata desineremo. Accettò l'invito e l'ordine dato il sig. Timbreo, e la domenica col sig. Girondo a buon'ora si mise all'

ordine per cavalcare. Ed ecco messer Lionato arrivare con una squadra di gentiluomini, che già in villa aveva fatto ogni cosa necessaria onoratamente apparecchiare. Come il sig. Timbreo fu avvertito del venir di messer Lionato, egli col signor Girondo e servidori a cavallo salì; e dato il buon dì e ricevuto, tutti di brigata di Messina se ne uscirono. E come in simil cavalcate avviene, di diverse cose ragionando, giunsero alla villa, che non se ne accorsero, ove furono onoratamente raccolti. Quivi udirono messa in una chiesa alla casa vicina. Finita la messa, tutti si ridussero in sala, che era di arazzi Alessandrini e tappeti onoratamente apparsa. Come furono tutti in sala, eccoti che d'una camera uscirono molte gentildonne, tra le quali era Fenicia con Belfiore, e proprio pareva Fenicia la luna, quando nel ciel serono più splende tra le stelle. I due signori con gli altri gentiluomini le raccolsero con riverente accoglienza, come sempre ogni gentiluomo deve con le donne fare. Messer Lionato allora, preso per mano il sig. Timbreo e a Fenicia accostatosi, la quale Lucilla sempre si era chiamata da poi che in villa fu condotta: ecco, signor cavaliere, disse, la sig. Lucilla, la quale io vi ho scelta per darvi per moglie, quando vi piaccia; e se al mio parer vi atterrete, ella sarà vostra sposa, nondimeno voi siete in vostra libertà di pigliarla o lasciarla. Il sig. Timbreo, veduta la giovane, che nel vero era bellissima, ed essendogli sulla prima vista meravigliosamente piaciuta, avendo già deliberato di soddisfare a messer Lionato, stato un poco sovra di se, così disse: Signor padre, non questa che ora mi presentate, che mi pare una real giovane, accetto, ma ogn' altra, che da voi mi fosse stata monstrata, avrei io accettato. Ed acciò che veggiate quanto son desideroso di soddisfarvi, e conosciate che la promessa che io vi feci non è vana, questa

e non altra piglio io per mia legittima sposa, essendo però il suo voler al mio conforme. A questo parole rispose la giovane, e disse: Signor cavaliere, io sono qui presta a far tutto quello che da messer Lionato mi sarà detto. Ed io, soggiunse messer Lionato, bella giovane, vi esorto a pigliar il sig. Timbreo per marito; onde per non dar più indugio alla cosa, fu fatta cenno a un dottore che ivi era, che dicesse le consuete parole, secondo l'uso della santa Chiesa. Il che saggiamente messer lo dottore facendo, il signor Timbreo per parole di presente sposò la sua Fenicia, credendo una Lucilla sposare. Esso sig. Timbreo, come prima vide la giovane uscir di camera, così intorno al cuore sentì un certo non so che, parendogli nel viso di quella scernere alcune fattezze della sua Fenicia, e non si poteva saziar di mirarla; di modo che l'amore che a Fenicia aveva portato, sentì tutto a questa nuova giovane voltarsi. Fatto questo sponsalizio, si diede subito l'acqua alle mani. In capo di tavola fu messa la sposa: dalla banda destra appo lei fu assiso il sig. Timbreo, per scontro a cui sedeva Belfiore, dietro la quale seguiva il cavalier Girondo; e così di mano in mano furono posti un uomo ed una donna a sedere. I cibi vennero dilicati e con bellissimo ordine, e tutto il convito fu sontuoso e quieto e gentilmente servito. I ragionamenti, i motti e mille altri trastulli non mancarono. Alla fine, recate quelle frutte che la stagione concedeva, la zia di Fenicia, che in villa con lei era per la maggior parte dell'anno dimorata, e che appo il sig. Timbreo a mensa sedeva, veggendo che il desinar si finiva, come se nulla mai dei casi occorsi avesse sentito, così festeggevolmente al sig. Timbreo disse: Signor sposo, avete voi mai moglie? Egli, da sì fatta matrona domandato, si sentì colmar gli occhi di lagrime, le quali prima caddero, ch'egli potesse rispondere. Pure, vincendo la tenerezza della natura, di questa maniera rispose: Signora zia, la

vostra umanissima domanda mi riduce alla mente una cosa che sempre ho in cuore, e per la quale io credo tosto finire i giorni miei. E benché io della signora Lucilla mi trovo contentissimo, nondimeno per un' altra che amai, e così morta amo più che me stesso, mi sento di continuo un doloroso verme intorno al cuore, che a poco a poco mi va rodendo, e fieramente mi tormenta; con ciò sia cosa che io fui della sua acerbissima morte, contra ogni debito, sola cagione. A queste parole il signor Girondo volendo rispondere, ed essendo da mille singhiozzi, e dalle abbondanti lagrime che a filo a filo cadevano, impedito, pur alla fine con parole mezze mozze disse: io, signore, io disleale fui pur il ministro e il manigoldo della morte della infelicitissima giovane, che era degna per le sue rare doti viver più lungamente che non ha fatto; e tu non ci avesti colpa alcuna, che tutta la colpa fu mia. In questi ragionamenti, alla sposa cominciarono altresì empirsi gli occhi di lagrimosa pioggia, per la fiera rimembranza dei passati cordogli che sofferti amaramente aveva. Seguì poi la zia della sposa, e domandò con queste parole al nipote: deh, signor cavaliere, per cortesia, ora che altro non ci è che ragionare, ditemi come avvenne questa novella, della quale voi e quest' altro gentiluomo sì teneramente ancora lagrimate. Oimè! rispose il signor Timbreo, voi volete, signora zia, che io rinovelli il più disperato e fiero dolore che mai da me fosse sofferto, e che solo pensando mi dispolpi e strugga; ma per compiacervi, con mia eterna doglia e poco onore, che fui troppo credulo, il tutto vi dirò. Cominciò adunque egli, e dal principio alla fine non senza caldissime lagrime, e con grandissima pietà e meraviglia degli ascoltanti, tutta la miserabil istoria narrò. Soggiunse allora la matrona: meravigliosa e crudel novella mi narrate, sig. cavaliere, a cui simile forse mai più al mondo non avvenne. Ma ditemi, se Dio vi ajuti, se

innanzi che questa qui vi fosse stata data per moglie, voi aveste potuto suscitare la vostra innamorata, che avreste voi fatto per poterla riaver via? Il signor Timbreo, tuttavia piangendo, disse: giuro a Dio, signora mia, che io di questa mia sposa mi ritrovo molto ben soddisfatto, e spero alla giornata di meglio; ma se prima avessi potuto ricomperare la morta, io avrei dato la metà degli anni miei per riaverla, oltre il tesoro che speso ci avrei; perciocchè veramente io l'amava quanto da uomo che sia si possa donna amare, e s'io mille e mille anni campassi, così morta com'è, sempre l'amerò, e per amor di lei sempre avrò in riverenza quanti ci sono dei suoi parenti. A questo non potendo più il consolato padre di Fenicia celar l'allegrezza che aveva, al genero rivoltato, di soverchia dolcezza e tenerezza di cuore piangendo, disse. Mal dimostrate signor figliuolo e genero, che così vi debbo appellare, con effetti quello che con la bocca parlate; imperciocchè avendo voi la vostra tanto amata Fenicia sposato, e tutta mattina statole appresso, ancora non la conoscete. Ove è ito cotesto vostro così fervido amore? Ha ella così cangiato forma, sono in tanto le fattezze sue sì cangiate, che avendola appresso non la riconoscete? Allora allora a queste parole s'apersero gli occhi dell'amoroso cavaliere, e gettatosi al collo della sua Fenicia, quella mille fiate baciando, e di gioja infinita colmo, senza fine con fisi occhi mirava, e tuttavia dolcemente piangeva, senza mai poter formar parola, chiamandosi tra se stesso cieco. Narrato poi da messer Lionato come il caso era successo, restarono tutti d'estrema meraviglia ed insieme molto allegri. Il sig. Girondo allora levatosi da tavola, fortemente piangendo, si gettò a' piedi di Fenicia, demandandole con ogni umiltà perdono. Ella subito umanamente il raccolse, e con amorevoli parole gli rimise l'ingiurie passate. Al suo sposo poi rivolta, che del fallo commesso si ac-

cusava, quello con dolcissime parole pregò che più di simil pratica non le ragionasse; perciocchè non avendo egli fallito, non le doveva a modo alcuno chieder perdonanza. E quivi l' uno l' altro baciando e di gioja piangendo, bevevano le lor calde lagrime tutti pieni di estremo contento. Ora mentre che ciascuno dimorava in grandissimo piacere, e che si preparava di carolare e star in festa, il cavalier Girondo a messer Lionato accostatosi, che pieno di gioja pareva che coi diti toccasse il cielo, quello pregò che degnasse di farli una grandissima grazia, che a lui sarebbe di meravigliosa contentezza cagione. Messer Lionato gli rispose che chiedesse, perciocchè se era cosa che egli far potesse, molto volentieri e di grado la farebbe. Ed io, soggiunse il signor Girondo, domando voi, signor Lionato, per suocero e padre, la signora Fenicia e il signor Timbreo per cognati, e la signora Belfiore, che è qui, per mia legittima ed amorevol consorte. Il buon padre, sentendo accumularsi nuova gioja, e quasi fuor di se per tanta non sperata consolazione, non sapeva se sognava, o pur era vero ciò che udiva e vedeva. E parendogli pure che non dormisse, ringraziò di cuore Iddio, che tanto altamente il guiderdonava, non l' avendo egli meritato; ed al signor Girondo rivolto, umanamente rispose che era contento di quello che a lui piaceva; onde in quello istante chiamata a se Belfiore: tu vedi, figliuola, disse, come la cosa va. Questo signor cavaliere ti ricerca per moglie: se tu vuoi lui per marito, io ne sarò contentissimo, e tu per ogni ragione far lo dei; sicchè dinne liberamente il tuo volere. La bella figliuola tutta tremante, con sommessa voce vergognosamente al padre rispose che era presta per far quanto egli volesse; onde per non dar indugio alla cosa, il signor Girondo di consentimento di tutti i parenti, con le debite cerimonie delle consuete parole, diede l' anello alla bellissima Belfiore; del che infinita fu la contentezza di messer

Lionato e di tutti i suoi. E perciocchè il signor Timbreo aveva la sua cara Fenicia sotto nome di Lucilla sposata, quella allora solennemente sotto il nome di Fenicia di nuovo sposò. Così tutto il giorno in balli e piaceri si consumò. Era la bella e gentilissima Fenicia vestita d'una veste di finissimo damasco bianco come pura neve, con un certo abbigliamento in capo che faceva mirabil vedere. Ella era convenevolmente grande, per l'età che aveva, e assai bene in carne, tuttavia crescendo, come quella che giovanetta era. Il petto sotto il sottile e nobilissimo drappo di finissima seta alquanto rilevato si mostrava, spingendo infuori la forma di due pomi rotondi, l'uno dall'altro condecientemente separati. Chi il vago colore del volto vedeva, vedeva una piacevole e pura bianchezza di condecevole e vergineo rossore sparsa; la quale non l'arte ma la maestra natura, e più e meno secondo i varj avvenimenti ed atti, d'ostro dipingeva. Il rilevato petto pareva una piacevolissima e quasi viva massa d'alabastro candido e schietto, con la gola ritondetta che di neve sembrava. Ma chi la soavissima bocca, quando le dolci parole formava, aprirsi e serrarsi vedeva, egli certamente poteva dire che aveva veduto aperto un museo inestimabile di finissimi rubini cinto, e pieno di perle orientali le più ricche e le più belle, che mai l'odorato Oriente a noi mandasse. Se poi vedevi quei due begli occhi, anzi due fulgentissime stelle, anzi pur due folgoranti soli, quando ella maestrevolmente quinci e quindi gli girava, tu potevi ben giurare che dentro a quei placidissimi lumi albergava amore, e che in quel chiarissimo splendore affinava i suoi pungenti strali: e quanto bene campeggiavano le chiome inanellate e sparte! che sovra la pura e spaziosa fronte scherzanti, parevano proprio fila di terso e biondo oro, che al dolce soffiare d'una picciola aura lascivamente si girassero. Erano le braccia di giusta misura, con due bellissime mani sì proporzionatamente fatte, che l'invidia non ci trove-

rebbe in che emendarle ; e in somma tutta la persona era vaga e snella, e così gentilmente dalla natura formata, che niente le mancava. Ella poi così a tempo e tanto gajamente, secondo gli accidenti, or parte or tutta la persona moveva, che ogni suo atto, ogni cenno ed ogni movimento era pieno d' infinita grazia, e pareva che a viva forza i cuori dei riguardanti involasse. Onde chi Fenicia la disse non si discostò punto dal vero, perciocchè ella era una fenice che tutte l' altre giovani di gran lunga di bellezza avanzava. Nè ancora men bella presenza dimostrava Belfiore, se non che essendo più fanciulla, tanta maestate e tanta grazia negli atti e movimenti suoi non aveva. Ora si stette tutto quel dì in gioja ed in festa, e i due sposi non si potevano saziare di mirare e goder, parlando, le lor donne. Ma il signor Timbreo era quello che fuor di modo gioiva, e quasi a se stesso non credeva esser là dove era, dubitando non s' insegnare, o forse che questo non fosse qualche incantamento fatto per arte magica. Finito quel giorno, e venuto il dì seguente, s' apparecchiaron per ritornarsene a Messina, e quivi far le mozze con quella solennità che al grado dei due signori apparteneva. Essi signori sposi prima per messi a posta avevano del successo loro avvisato un loro amico, molto del Re domestico, e a lui commesso quanto desideravano che egli facesse. Questi il dì medesimo ne andò a far riverenza al Re Piero a nome dei due cavalieri, e a quello narrò tutta l' istoria dell' amor dei due cavalieri, e quanto dal principio alla fine era successo ; di che il Re mostrò non picciola allegrezza. E fatta chiamar la Reina, volle che colui intieramente un' altra volta alla presenza di lei tutta l' istoria narrasse. Il che egli puntalmente fece con grandissima soddisfazione e non picciola ammirazione della Reina, che sentendo il pietoso caso avvenuto a Fenicia, fu astretta per pietà della giovane

a lagrimare. Ora perciocchè a quei tempi nel Re Piero, più che in tutti gli altri prencipi, regnava liberal cortesia, ed era quello che meglio sapeva rimeritar chiunque il valeva, e la Reina altresì era cortese e gentilissima, il Re a quella aperse l'animo suo, e quanto far intendeva, le disse. La Reina, udendo così magnifica deliberazione, assai commendò il parer e volontà del suo marito e signore. Il perchè fatto con diligenza metter in ordine tutta la Corte, e fatti invitar tutti i gentiluomini e le gentildonne di Messina, ordinò allora il Re che tutti i più onorati baroni di Corte con infinita compagnia d' altri cavalieri e gentiluomini, sotto la cura e governo dell' infante don Giacomo Dongiavo, che era il suo primogenito, andassero fuor di Messina ad incontrar le due sorelle spose. Onde essendo il tutto allora con bellissimo ordine eseguito, cavalcarono fuor della Città; e non andarono un miglio che incontrarono le due spose, che con i mariti loro ed altre assai persone verso Messina allegramente venivano. Come furono appresso, l' infante don Giacomo fece rimontar i cavalieri, ch' erano a farli riverenza smontati, e seco e con le belle sorelle per nome del padre cortesemente de lloro sponsalizio si rallegrò, ed egli fu da tutti con somma riverenza raccolto. L' accoglienze poi di tutti i cortigiani, e degli altri della compagnia che da Messina veniva, ai due sposi e alle spose furono non meno gentili che grate. E così i due cavalieri e le mogli loro tutti onestamente ringraziarono; ma sovra tutto all' infante don Giacomo resero quelle grazie, che per loro si poterono le maggiori. Di brigata poi s' inviarono verso la Città, favoleggiando e scherzando, come in simili allegrezze si suole. Don Giacomo con piacevoli motti intertenne gran pezza, ora la signora Fenicia ed ora la signora Belfiore. Il Re a punto per punto avvisato, quando tempo gli parve, montato a cavallo con la Reina e con onorata

compagnia d'uomini e di donne, all' entrare della città riscontrò la bella schiera che arrivava. Ed essendo già ciascuno smontato a far riverenza al Re ed alla Reina, furono tutti graziosamente ricevuti. Volse poi il Re che tutti rimontassero, ed egli si pose in mezzo di messer Lionato e del sig. Timbreo. Madama la Reina si pose a destra la bella Fenicia, e alla sinistra Belfiore. L'infante don Giacomo si mise a paro il sig. Girondo. Fecero il medesimo tutti gli altri gentiluomini e gentildonne, venendo tutti di mano in mano con bellissimo ordine; e verso il real palazzo, volendo così il Re, tutti se n'andarono. Quivi sontuosamente si desinò, dopo il mangiare, per comandamento del Re, alla presenza di tutto il convito il sig. Timbreo narrò tutta l'istoria del suo amore. Cominciarono, fatto questo, a ballare, e tutta la settimana il Re tenne Corte bandita, volendo che ciascuno in quei dì mangiasse al palazzo reale. Finite le feste, il Re chiamò a se messer Lionato, e gli domandò che dote era quella che aveva alle figliuole promessa, e che modo aveva di darle. Messer Lionato al Re rispose che delle doti niente mai s'era favellato, e che egli quella onesta dote darebbe loro che le sue facoltà patissero. Disse allora il Re: noi vogliamo dare alle vostre figliuole quella dote che a noi parrà che a loro e ai miei cavalieri convenga, e non vogliamo che di più spesa elle vi siano per l'avvenire in conto alcuno. E così liberalissimo Re, con singolar commendazione non solamente di tutti i Siciliani, ma di chiunque l'intese, fattisi chiamare i due sposi e le loro mogli, volle che tutti solennemente, a quanto mai potessero pretendere di dover avere della roba di messer Lionato, renunziassero; e a questo egli interpose il decreto Regio, che ogni atto di tal renunzia confermava. Da poi senza intervallo, non come figliuole d'un suo cittadino, ma quasi come sue le dotò onoratissimamente, e ai due sposi accrebbe la pensione che da lui avevano. La Reina, non meno del Re magnifica, generosa e libe-

rale, volle che le due spose fossero donne della sua Corte; e gli ordinò su alcuni suoi dazj una ricca provigione per ogni anno, e sempre le tenne care. Elle, che nel vero erano gentilissime, di modo si diportarono, che in breve ebbero la grazia di quanti erano in Corte. Fu anco dato dal Re a messer Lionato un ufficio in Messina molto onorevole, del quale egli traeva non picciolo profitto. E veggendosi egli già attempato, fece di modo che il Re lo confermò ad un suo figliuolo. Così adunque avvenne al sig. Timbreo del suo onestissimo amore; e il male che il sig. Girondo tentò di fare, in bene se gli convertì; e tutti due da poi lungamente le lor donne goderon, vivendo in grandissima pace, spesse fiate tra loro rammentando con piacere gli infortunj alla bella Fenicia avvenuti. Esso sig. Timbreo fu il primo che in Sicilia fondò la nobilissima schiatta dei signori della casa di Cardona, dei quali oggidì e in Sicilia e nel Regno di Napoli molti uomini ci sono di non poca stima. In Spagna medesimamente fiorisce questo nobilissimo sangue di Cardona, producendo uomini che dagli avoli loro punto non tralignano, così nell' arme come nella toga. Ma che dirò io dei due nobilissimi fratelli don Pietro e don Giovanni di Cardona, valorosi nel vero ed eccellenti signori e guerrieri? Veggio esser qui presenti alcuni di voi, che conosciuto avete il sig. don Pietro conte di Colisano, e gran Contestabile ed Amirante di Sicilia; il quale tanto il sig. Prospero Colonna, uomo incomparabile, onorava, ed il saggio consiglio di quello apprezzava. E certamente che il conte di Colisano era uomo singolarissimo. Morì egli nel fatto d'arme che si fece alla Bicocca, con general dolore di tutta Lombardia. Ma don Giovanni suo fratello marchese della Palude, molto innanzi sotto Ravenna, nella giornata che tra' Francesi e Spagnuoli si fece, valorosamente diportandosi, fu ammazzato. Ora io non m' avveggendo, era trascorso, in luogo di novellare, a far panegirici.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

INTRODUCTION.



THE story of "Giletta of Narbona" is a translation from the Italian, and it forms *Nov. 9, Giorn. iii.*, of the *Decameron*. Painter, in his version in tome i. of his "Palace of Pleasure," 1566-7, somewhat amplifies the title, in order to render it a sort of argument to the story, but in Boccaccio is it, perhaps, sufficiently explanatory: it runs thus:—"Giglietta di Nerbona guarisce il Re di Francia d'una fistola; domanda per marito Beltramo di Rossiglione; il quale contra sua voglia sposatala, a Firenze se ne va per isdegno; dove vagheggiando una giovane, in persona di lei Giglietta giacque con lui, e hebbene due figlioli; perchè egli poi havutala cara per moglie la tiene." Whether Shakespeare did or did not understand Italian, he need not in this instance have taken the trouble to resort to that language, for Painter rendered his original very literally, and there is little doubt, for various reasons, that our great dramatist availed himself of the version he found already made to his hands.

It will be seen on comparison that Shakespeare adopted all the main incidents from the novel, with some important additions to the characters. He anglicised Beltramo into Bertram, and changed Giglietta into Helena, and these are the only names given by Boccaccio; the characters of the Countess, the Clown, and Parolles, are new in Shakespeare, and there is no hint in the Italian of any part of the comic scenes in which the latter is engaged, and which so

admirably heighten the effect of the more serious portions of the play. The Countess is a delightful creation ; and the Clown is the domestic fool, a jester in the disguise of a half-witted menial, the nature of whose duties and situation is illustrated with peculiar force in Armin's "Nest of Ninnies," 1608, reprinted by the Shakespeare Society from the copy in the Bodleian Library. There is no work in our language so curious and valuable, in respect to the manners of the times, as regards a character so conspicuous, not only in the plays of Shakespeare, but in those of many of his contemporaries ; and it is extraordinary that it seems to have been entirely unknown to Mr Douce, who has left behind him so much learning on the subject.

Painter's version of the tale of Giglietta di Nerbona is faithful, and that seems to have been the principal excellence at which he aimed, for he was certainly not an elegant writer of English, even for the time at which he flourished : he seldom or never attempts any of the graces of style, and seems generally satisfied with the first word that presented itself to his mind, if it conveyed sufficiently the meaning of his author. He was a man of no fancy, and of very limited original powers of any kind.



Giletta of Narbona.



THE THIRTY-EIGHTH NOVELL.

Giletta a Phisicians doughter of Narbon, healed the Frenche Kyng of a Fistula, for rewarde wherof she demaunded Beltramo Counte of Rossiglione to husbande. The Counte beyng marriede againste his will, for despite fled to Florence and loved an other. Giletta his wife, by pollicie founde meanes to lye with her husbande, in place of his lover, and was begotten with child of twoo soonnes: whiche knowen to her husbande, he received her againe, and afterwarde she lived in great honor and felicitie.

IN Fraunce there was a gentleman called Isnardo, the Counte of Rossiglione, who bicause he was sickly and diseased, kepte alwaies in his house a Phisicion, named maister Gerardo of Narbona. This Counte had one onely sonne called Beltramo, a verie yonge childe, pleasaunt and faire. With whom there was nourished and broughte up, many other children of his age: emonges whom one of the doughters of the said Phisicion, named Giletta, who ferventlie fill in love with Beltramo, more then was meete for a maiden of her age. This Beltramo, when his father

was dedde, and lefte under the roial custodie of the kyng, was sente to Paris, for whose departure, the maiden was verie pensife. A litle while after, her father beyng likewise dedde, she was desirous to goe to Paris, onely to see the yong Counte, if for that purpose she could gette any good occasion. But beyng diligently looked unto by her kinsfolke (bicause she was riche and fatherlesse) she could see no conveniente waie, for her intended journey: and being now mariageable, the love she bare to the Counte, was never out of her remembraunce, and refused many husbandes, with whom her kinsfolke would have placed her, without making them privie, to the occasion of her refusall. Now it chaunced that she burned more in love with Beltramo, then ever she did before, bicause she heard tell, that he was growen to the state of a goodly yonge gentlemanne. She heard by reporte, that the Frenche Kyng, had a swellng upon his breast, whiche by reason of ill cure, was growen to a Fistula, and did putte him to marveilous paine and grief, and that there was no Phisicion to be founde (although many were proved) that could heale it, but rather did impaire the grief, and made it worsse and worsse. Wherefore the kyng, like one that was in dispaire, would take no more counsaill or helpe. Whereof the yonge maiden was wonderfull glad, and thought to have by this meanes, not onelie a lawfull occasion to goe to Paris; but if the disease were suche (as she supposed,) easely to bryng to passe that she might have the Counte Beltramo to her husbnde. Whereupon with suche knowledge, as she had learned at her fathers handes before time, she made a powder of certain herbes, whiche she thought meete for that disease, and rode to Paris. And the first thing she went about, when she came thither, was to see the Counte Beltramo. And then she repaired to the kyng, praying his grace, to vouchsaufe to shewe her

his disease. The kyng perceiuyng her to bee a faire yonge maiden and a comelie, would not hide it, but opened the same unto her. So sone as she sawe it, she putte hym in comforte, that she was able to heale hym, sayng: "Sire, if it shall please your grace, I trust in God, without any paine or grieve unto your highnesse, within eighte daies I will make you whole of this disease." The kyng hearyng her saie so, began to mocke her, sayng: "How is it possible for thee, beyng a yong woman, to doe that, whiche the best renoumed Phisicions in the worlde can not?" He thanked her, for her good will, and made her a directe answere, that he was determined no more to followe the counsaile of any Phisicion. Whereunto the maiden answered: "Sire, you dispise my knowledge, bicause I am yonge, and a woman, but I assure you, that I doe not minister Phisicke by profession, but by the aide and helpe of God: and with the cunningg of maister Gerardo of Narbona, who was my father, and a Phisicion of greate fame, so longe as he lived." The kyng hearyng those wordes, saied to hymself: "This woman peradventure is sent unto me of God, and therefore, why should I disdain to prove her cunningg? Sithens she promiseth to heale me within a litle space, without any offence or grief unto me." And beyng determined to prove her, he said: "Damosell, if thou doest not heale me, but make me to breake my determinacion, what wilt thou shall folowe thereof." "Sire," saied the maiden: "Let me be kept in what garde and kepyng you list: and if I dooe not heale you within these eight daies, let me bee burnte: but if I doe heale your grace, what recompence shall I have then? To whom the kyng answered: "Bicause thou art a maiden, and unmarried, if thou heale me, accordyng to thy promisse, I will bestowe thee upon some gentleman, that shalbe of right good worship and estimacion." To

whom she answered : " Sire I am verie well content, that you bestowe me in mariage : But I will have suche a husbande, as I my self shall demaunde ; without presumpcion to any of your children, or other of your bloudde." Whiche requeste, the kyng incontinently graunted. The yong maiden began to minister her Phisicke, and in shorte space, before her appointed tyme, she had throughly cured the kyng. And when the king perceived himself whole, said unto her : " Thou hast well deserved a husbande (Giletta) even suche a one as thy selfe shalt chose." " I have then my Lorde (quod she) deserved the Countie Beltramo of Rossiglione, whom I have loved from my youthe." The kyng was very lothe to graunte hym unto her : But bicause he had made a promys, whiche he was lothe to breake, he caused hym to be called forthe, and saied unto hym : " Sir Counte, bicause you are a gentleman of greate honor, our pleasure is, that you retourne home to your owne house, to order your estate according to your degree : and that you take with you a Damosell whiche I have appointed to be your wife." To whom the Counte gave his humble thankes, and demaunded what she was ? " It is she (quoth the kyng) that with her medecines, hath healed me." The Counte knewe her well, and had alredie seen her, although she was faire, yet knowing her not to be of a stocke, convenable to his nobilitie, disdainfullie said unto the king, " Will you then (sir) give me, a Phisicion to wife ? It is not the pleasure of God, that ever I should in that wise bestowe my self." To whom the kyng said : " Wilt thou then, that we should breake our faith, whiche we to recover healthe, have given to the damosell, who for a rewarde thereof, asked thee to husband ?" Sire (quod Beltramo) you maie take from me al that I have, and give my persone to whom you please, bicause I am your subject : but I

assure you, I shall never bee contented with that mariage." "Well, you shall have her (saied the Kyng), for the maiden is faire and wise, and loveth you moste intirely: thinkyng verelie you shall leade a more joyfull life with her, then with a ladie of a greater house." The Counte therwithal helde his peace; and the king made great preparacion for the mariage. And when the appointed daie was come, the Counte in the presence of the kyng (although it were againste his will) married the maiden, who loved hym better then her owne self. Whiche dooen, the Counte determinyng before, what he would doe, praied licence to retourne to his countrie, to consummat the mariage. And when he was on horsebacke, he went not thither, but tooke his journey into Thuscane, where understanding that the Florentines, and Senois were at warres, he determined to take the Florentines parte, and was willinglie received, and honourable interteigned, and made capitaine of a certaine number of men, continuing in their service a longe tyme. The newe married gentlewoman, scarce contented with that, and hopying by her well doying, to cause hym to retourne into his countrie, went to Rossiglione, where she was received of all his subjectes, for their Ladie. And perceivyng that through the Countes absence, all thinges were spoiled and out of order; she like a sage lady, with greate diligence and care, disposed all thynges in order againe, whereof the subjectes rejoysed verie muche, bearyng to her their hartie love and affection, greatlie blamyng the Counte, bicause he could not contente himself with her. This notable gentlewoman, having restored all the countrie againe, sent worde thereof to the Counte her husbände, by twoo Knightes of the countrie, whiche she sent to signifie unto hym, that if it were for her sake, that he had abandoned his

countrie, he should sende her worde thereof, and she to doe hym pleasure, would depart from thence. To whom he chorlishlie saied: "Lette her doe what she list. For I doe purpose to dwell with her, when she shall have this ryng, (meaning a ryng which he wore) upon her finger, and a soonne in her armes, begotten by me." He greatly loved that ryng, and kepte it verie carefullie, and never tooke it of from his finger, for a certaine vertue that he knewe it had. The knightes hearyng the harde condicion of twoo thinges impossible: and seyng that by them he could not be removed from his determinacion, thei retourned againe to the ladie, tellinge her his answer: who verie sorowfull, after she hadde a good while bethought her self, purposed to finde meanes, to attaine to those twoo thynges, to the intente, that thereby she might recover her husbände. And havynge advised with her self what to doe, she assembled the noblest and chiefest of her countrie, declaring unto them in lamentable wise, what she had alredie dooen, to winne the love of the Counte, shewyng them also what folowed thereof. And in the ende saied unto them, that she was lothe the Counte for her sake, should dwell in perpetuall exile: therefore she determined, to spende the rest of her tyme in pilgrimages and devocion, for preservacion of her soule, praiyng them to take the charge, and governemente of the countrie, and that thei would lette the Counte understande, that she had forsaken his house, and was removed farre from thence: with purpose never to retourne to Rossiglione againe. Many teares were shedde by the people, as she was speakyng these wordes, and divers supplicacions were made unto him to alter his opinion, but al in vaine. Wherefore commending them all unto God, she tooke her waie, with her maide, and one of her kinsemen, in the habite of a pilgrime, well furnished with silver, and precious Jewelles: tellyng no man whither shee went,

and never rested, till she came to Florence : where by Fortune at a poore widowes house, she contented her self, with the state of a poore pilgrime, desirous to here newes of her lorde, whom by fortune she sawe the next daie, passing by the house (where she lay) on horsebacke with his companie. And although she knewe him well enough, yet she demaunded of the good wife of the house what he was : who answered that he was a straunge gentleman, called the Counte Beltramo of Rossiglione, a curteous knight, and wel-beloved in the Citie, and that he was merveilously in love with a neighbor of her, that was a gentlewoman, verie poore and of small substaunce, nevertheless of right honest life and report, and by reason of her povertie, was yet unmarried, and dwelte with her mother, that was a wise and honest Ladie. The Countesse well notyng these wordes, and by litle and litle debatyng every particular point thereof, comprehending the effecte of those newes, concluded what to doe, and when she had well understood, whiche was the house, and the name of the Ladie, and of her doughter, that was beloved of the Counte : upon a daie repaired to the house secretlie, in the habite of a pilgrime, where finding the mother and doughter, in poore estate emonges their familie, after she hadde saluted them, tolde the mother, that she had to saie unto her. The gentlewoman risyng up, curteouslie interteigned her, and beyng entred alone into a chamber, thei satte doune, and the Countesse began to saie unto her in this wise. "Madame, me thinke that ye be one, upon whom Fortune doeth frowne, so well as upon me : but if you please, you maie bothe comfort me, and your self." The ladie answered, "That there was nothyng in the worlde, whereof she was more desirous, then of honest comforte." The Countesse procedyng in her talke, saied unto her, "I have nede now of your fidelitie and trust, whereupon

if I doe staie, and you deceive me, you shall bothe undoe me, and your self." "Tel me then what it is hardelie (saied the gentlewoman) if it bee your pleasure : for you shall never bee deceived of me." Then the Countesse beganne to recite her whole estate of Love: tellying her what she was, and what had chaunced to that present daie, in such perfite order that the gentlewoman belevying her woordes, bicause she had partlie heard report thereof before, beganne to have compassion upon her, and after that the Countesse had rehearsed all the whole circumstance, she continued her purpose, saiyng : "Now you have heard emonges other my troubles, what twoo thynges thei bee, whiche behoveth me to have, if I doe recover my husbande, whiche I knowe none can helpe me to obtain, but onely you : If it bee true that I heare, whiche is, that the Counte my husbande, is farre in love with your doughter." To whom the gentlewoman saied : "Madame, if the Counte love my doughter, I knowe not, albeit the likelihoode is greate : but what am I able to doe, in that whiche you desire?" "Madame," answered the Countesse, "I will tell you: but first I will declare what I mean to doe for you, if my determinacion be brought to effect : I see your faier doughter of good age, redie to maire, but as I understand the cause, why she is unmarried, is the lacke of substance to bestowe upon her. Wherefore I purpose, for recompence of the pleasure, whiche you shall dooe for me, to give so much redie money to marie her honorably, as you shall thinke sufficient." The Countesse offer was very well liked of the ladie, bicause she was but poore: yet having a noble hart, she said unto her, "Madame, tell me wherein I maie do you service: and if it be a thing honest, I will gladlie performe it, and the same being brought to passe, do as it shal please you." Then saied the Countesse : "I thinke it requisite, that by some one

whom you truste, that you give knowledge to the Counte my husbnde, that your doughter is and shalbe at his commaundement. And to the intent she maie bee well assured, that he loveth her in deede above any other, that she praieth him to sende her a ring that he weareth upon his finger, whiche ring she heard tell, he loved verie derely. And when he sendeth the ryng, you shall give it unto me, and afterwarde sende hym woorde, that your doughter is redie to accomlishe his pleasure, and then you shall cause hym secretly to come hither, and place me by hym (in steede of your doughter) peradventure God will give me the grace, that I maie bee with childe, and so havying this ryng on my finger, and the childe in myne armes, begotten by him, I shall recover him, and by your meanes continue with hym, as a wife ought to doe with her husbnde." This thing semed difficulte unto the Gentlewoman: fearyng that there would folowe reproche unto her doughter. Notwithstanding, consideryng what an honest parte it were, to be a meane, that the good Ladie should recover her husband, and that she should doe it for a good purpose, havying affiaunce in her honest affection, not onely promised the Countesse to bryng this to passe; but in fewe daies with greate subtiltie, folowyng the order wherein she was instructed, she had gotten the ryng, although it was with the Countes ill will, and toke order that the Countesse in stede of her doughter did lye with hym. And at the first meetyng, so affectionously desired by the Counte: God so disposed the matter that the Countesse was begotten with childe, of twoo goodly sonnes, and her delivery chaunced at the due time. Wherupon the gentlewoman, not onely contented the Countesse at that tyme, with the companie of her husbnde, but at many other times so secretly that it was never knowen: the Counte not thinkyng that he had lien with his wife, but with her

whom he loved. To whom at his uprising in the mornyng, he used many curteous and amiable woordes, and gave divers faire and precious Jewelles, which the Countesse kept moste carefullie: and when she perceived herself with childe, she determined no more to trouble the gentlewoman, but said unto her. "Madame, thanks bee to God and you, I have the thyng that I desire, and even so it is tyme, to recompence your desert, that afterwarde I maie departe." The gentlewoman saied unto her, that if she had doen any pleasure agreeable to her mind, she was right glad thereof, whiche she did, not for hope of rewarde; but bicause it appertained to her by well doying, so to doe. Wherunto the Countesse saied: "Your sayyng pleaseth me well, and likewise for my parte, I dooe not purpose to give unto you, the thing you shall demaunde of me in rewarde, but for consideracion of your well doying, whiche duetie forceth me to so dooe." The gentlewoman then constrained with necessitie, demaunded of her with greate bashefulnesse, an hundred poundes, to marie her doughter. The Countess perceivying the shamefastnesse of the gentlewoman, and hearyng her curteous demaunde, gave her five hundred poundes, and so many faire and costly Jewels, whiche almoste amounted to like valer. For whiche the gentlewoman more then contented, gave moste hartie thanks to the Countesse, who departed from the gentlewoman, and retourned to her lodging. The gentlewoman to take occasion from the Counte, of any farther repaire, or sendyng to her house, tooke her doughter with her, and went into the countrie to her frendes. The Counte Beltramo, within fewe daies after, beyng revoked home to his owne house by his subjectes, (hearyng that the Countesse was departed from thence) returned. The Countesse knowynge, that her housband was gone from Florence, and retourned into his countrie, was

verie glad, and contented, and she continewed in Florence, till the tyme of her child bedde was come, and was brought a bedde of twoo soones, whiche were verie like unto their father, and caused them carefullie to be noursed, and brought up, and when she sawe tyme, she toke her journey (unknownen to any manne) and arrived at Monpellier, and resting her self there for certaine daies, hearyng newes of the Counte, and where he was, and that upon the daie of all Sainctes, he purposed to make a great feast, and assemblie of ladies and knightes, in her pilgrimes weede she wente thither. And knowyng that thei were all assembled, at the pallace of the Counte, redie to sitte doune at the table, she passed through the people, without chaunge of apparell, with her twoo sonnes in her armes. And when she was come up into the hall, even to the place where the Counte was, fallyng doune prostrate at his feete, wepyng, saied unto him: "My Lorde, I am thy poore infortunate wife, who to thintent thou mightest returne and dwel in thine owne house, have been a great while beggyng about the worlde. Therefore I now beseche thee, for the honour of God, that thou wilt observe the condicions, whiche the twoo knightes (that I sent unto thee) did commaunde me to doe: for beholde, here in myne armes, not onelie one soonne begotten by thee, but twaine, and likewise thy Rynge. It is now tyme then (if thou kepe promis) that I should be received as thy wife." The Counte hearyng this, was greatly astonned, and knewe the Rynge, and the children also, thei were so like hym. "But tell me (quod he) howe is this come to pass!" The Countesse to the greате admiracion of the Counte, and of all those that were in presence, rehearsed unto them in order all that, whiche had been doen, and the whole discourse therof. For whiche cause the Counte knowyng the thynges she had spoken to be true (and perceivynge her constaunt

minde, and good witte, and the twoo faier yonge boies: to kepe his promisse made, and to please his subjectes, and the Ladies that made sute unto him, to accept her, from that time forth as his lawfull wife, and to honour her) abjected his obstinate rigour: causyng her to rise up, and imbraced and kissed her, acknowledging her againe for his lawfull wife. And after he had apparelled her, according to her estate, to the greate pleasure and contentacion, of those that were there, and of all his other frendes, not onely that daie, but many others, he kepte greate chere, and from that tyme forth, he loved and honoured her, as his dere spouse and wife.



MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

WE have contented ourselves with printing the Stories from Whetstone's "Heptameron," Cinthio's "Hecatommithi," and Goulart. But a reference to Douce ("Illustrations," 1807, i. 152-60, and ii. 274), will show how common and how popular such narratives were, and to give all that Douce quotes, with certain features of parallelism, would fill a volume without serving any useful or practical purpose.



1. *The Rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra.*

Reported by Madam ISABELLA.

—o—

[*From Whetstone's "Heptameron," 1582.*]

[THERE can, we think, be no doubt that Shakespeare took nearly the whole plot of his "Measure for Measure" from the "Promos and Cassandra," a drama in two parts, written by George Whetstone, and printed in 1578, 4°. Whether the latter was ever acted is uncertain; but we know that it had not been brought out in the interval between 1578 and 1582, because, in 1582 the author himself informs us that it had "never yet been presented upon the stage." The fact is, that as he wrote and printed it in 1578, it was not by any means well adapted to theatrical performance; and in 1582 he converted it into a narrative, and included it in a work which he called "The Heptameron of Civil Discourses." This narrative is what we have republished; and those who compare it with the two parts of the "History of Promos and Cassandra," included in our Series, will find that, in a few pages, it comprises all the incidents which, in the plays, are extended over as many acts. From whence Whetstone derived his materials for either we are without any information from himself, but we need not hesitate in believing that he obtained the story from the "Hecatomithi" of Giraldi Cinthio (Nov. 5, Decad. VIII.), which bears the following title, in the Monte-Regale edition of 1565:—"Juriste [Angelo in Shakespeare] e mandato de Massimiano, Imperadore, in Ispruchi, ove fà prendere un giovane [Claudio]

violatore di una vergine [Juliet] e condannalo à morte : la Sorella [Isabella] cerca di liberarlo : Juriste dà speranza alla donna di pigliarla per moglie, e di darle libero il fratello : ella con lui si giace, e la notte istessa Juriste fa tagliar al giovane la testa, e la manda alla Sorella. Ella ne fa querela all' Imperadore, il quale fa sposare ad Juriste la donna ; poscia lo fa dare ad essere ucciso : la donna lo libera, e con lui si vive amorevolissimamente." These incidents are followed very closely by Whetstone; but Shakespeare, with his usual superiority of judgment, varies from them, and substitutes Mariana for Isabella in the deception practised upon Angelo, and marries Isabella to the Duke, who was more worthy of her. Shakespeare also changes the scene from Inspruck, as it stands in the novel by Cinthio, to Vienna. Whetstone, in his play of "Promos and Cassandra," and in his "Heptameron," represented the events to have occurred at Julio, in Hungary.—*J. P. Collier.*]

This history for rareness thereof, is lively set out in a comédie, by the Reporter of the whole worke, but yet never presented upon stage.

AT what time Corvinus, the scourge of the Turkes, rayned as kinge of Bohemia, for to well governe the free cities of his realme, hee sent divers worthy majestrates. Among the rest, he gave the Lorde Promos the lieutennauntship of Julio ; who in the beginning of his government, purged the cittie of many ancient vices, and severely punished new offenders.

A hard lawe for incontinent persons,

In this cittie, there was an olde custome (by the suffering of some majestrates, growne out of use) that what man so ever comitted adulterie, should lose his head ; and the woman offender should ever after be infamously noted, by the wearing of some disguised apparrell : for the man was helde to bee the greatest offender, and therefore had the severest punishment.

Lord Promos, with a rough execution, revived this statement, and in the hiest degree of injurie brake it hymselfe, as shall appeare by the sequell of Andrugioes adventures.

This Andrugio, by the yeelding favour of fayre Polina, trespassed against this ordinaunce, who through envie was accused, and by Lorde Promos condemned, to suffer execution.

The wofull Cassandra, Andrugioes sister, prostrates her selfe at Lorde Promos feete, and with more teares then wordes, thus pleaded for her brothers lyfe.

Most noble Lorde, and worthy judge, vouchsafe mee the favour to speake, whose case is so desperate, as unlesse you beholde mee with the eyes of mercie, the frayle trespasse of condemned Andrugio, my brother, will bee the death of sorrowfull Cassandra, his innocent sister. I wil not presume to excuse his offence, or reproche the lawe of rigor; for in the generall construction, hee hath done most evill, and the law hath judged but what is right: but (reverent judge,) pardon the necessitie maketh mee here tel, that your wisdome already knoweth. The most soveraigne justice is crowned with laurell, although shee bee gyrt with a sword, and this priveledge shee giveth unto her administrators; that they shall mitigate the severitie of the law, according to the quallty of the offence. Then, that Justice bee not robbed of her gracious pittie, listen good Lorde Promos, to the nature of my brothers offence, and his able meanes to repayre the injurie. Hee hath defyled, no nuptiall bed, the stayne wherof dishonoureth the guyltlesse husband: he hath committed no violent rape, in which act the injured mayde can have no amends. But with yeelding consent of his mistresse Andrugio hath onelye sinned through love, and never ment but with marriage to make amendes.

I humbly beseeche you to accept his satisfaction, and by this example you shall be as much beloved for your clemencie, as feared for your severitie. Andrugio shalbe well warned, and hee with his sister, wofull Cassandra, shall ever remayne, your Lordships true servantes.

Promos eares were not so attentive to heare Cassandras ruethful tale, as his eyes were settled to regarde her excellent beautie. And Love, that was the ap-

Lawe adjudgeth, by the generall offence.

Justice, is more renowned by lenytie, then severitie.

A good cause to move pitye.

Love
favoureth;
no degree.

pointed headsman of Andrugio, became now the soveraigne of his judges thought. But because he would seeme to bridle his passions, he aunswered: fayre damsell, have patience, you importune me with an impossybylytie: he is condempned by lawe, then without injurie to lawe, he can not be saved.

Princes
prerogative,
are above
lawe.
The true
intent of the
lawe.

Princes and their deputies prerogatives (quoth she) are above the lawe. Besides, lawe, truelie construed, is but the amends of injurie; and where, the faulte may bee valued, and amendes had, the breache of lawe is sufficiently repayred.

A good
turne upon
an evyl
cause.

Quoth Lorde Promos: your passions mooveth more then your proofes, and for your sake I wyll reprove Andrugio, and studie how to do you ease without apparent breache of lawe.

Authoritytie,
in evyll ma-
jestrates, is
a scourge
unto the
good.

Cassandra, recomforted, with humble thankes receyved his favoure, and in great haste goeth too participate this hope with her dying brother: but oh, that aucthorytie, should have power, to make the vertuous to doo amisse, as well as throughe correction to enforce the vicious to fall unto goodnesse.

A monstrous
request.

Promos is a witnes of this priviledge, who not able to subdue his incontinent love, and (withal) resolved that Cassandra would never be overcome with fayre wordes, large promises, or riche rewardes, demaunded the spoyle of her virginie for raunsome of her brothers lybertie.

Unlesse
they be re-
probate,
good exam-
ples, may re-
fourne the
wicked.

Cassandra ymagyned at the first, that Lorde Promos used this speache but to trie her behaviour, aunswered hym so wisely, as, if he had not ben the ryvall of vertue, he could not but have suppressed his lewde affection, and have subscribed to her just petition: but to leave circumstaunces, Promos was fiered with a vicious desyre, which must be quenched with Casandraes yeldyng love, or Andrugio must dye.

Cassandra, mooved with a chaste disdayne, departed with the resolution, rather to dye her selfe, then to

stayne her honour; and with this heaue newes, greeted her condemned brother. Poore man, alas, what should he do! Life was sweete; but to be redeemed with his sisters infamie could not but be alwayes unsaverie.

To perswade her to consente was unnaturall: too yealde to death was more greevous.

To choose the leaste of these evylles was difficult: to studie long was daungerous.

A hard choice of two evyls.

Fayne woulde he lyve, but shame cloased his mouth, when he attempted to perswade his sister.

But necessitye, that maistereth both shame and feare, brake a passadge for his imprysoned intent.

Sweete Cassandra, (quoth he) that men love is usuall, but to subdue affection is impossyble; and so thornie are the motions of incontinent desire, as, to finde ease, the tongue is only occupied to perswade.

The force of necessitye.

The purse is ever open to entice, and wheare neither words nor giftes can corrupt (with the mightie) force shall constrayne, or dispight, avenge. That Promos do love, is but just: thy beautie commaundes hym; that Promos be refused, is more just, because consent is thy shame.

The force of love.

Thou maiste refuse and lyve: but he beyng rejected, I die: for wantyng his wyll in thee, he wyll wreake his teene on mee.

This is my hard estate: my lyfe lieth in thy infamie, and thy honour in my death. Which of these evylles be leaste I leave for thee to judge.

The wofull Cassandra answered, that death was the leaste; whose darte we can not shunne, when honour, in deathes dispight, outlyveth tyme.

A hard fortune.

It is true (quoth Andrugio), but thy trespasse, wyll be in the leaste degree of blame; for, in forced faultes, justice sayth, there is no intent of evyll.

Death is to be preferred, before dishonorable lyfe

Oh Andrugio, (quoth she), intent, is now adayes, lytle considred: thou art not condemned by the intent,

The ven-
omous nature
of envy.

The ver-
tuous are
assured of
many ene-
mies, and in-
certaine of
any friendes.

but by the strickt worde of the law: so shall my crime
bee reproched, and the forced cause passe unexcused;
and such is the venome of envye, one evill deede shall
disgrace ten good turnes, and in this yeelding, so
shall I be valued: envye, disdaine, spight, mallice,
sclaunder, and many moe furies will endeavour to
shame mee, and the meanest vertue wyll blush to
helpe to support my honour; so that I see no lybertie
for thee but death, nor no ease for mee but to hasten
my ende.

A cause that
may excuse
the breach
of honour.

O yes (quoth Andrugio), for if this offence be known
thy fame will bee enlarged, because it will lykewise
bee knowne, that thou receavedst dishonor to give
thy brother lyfe: if it be secreat, thy conscience wyl
be without scruple of guiltinesse. Thus, knowne, or
unknowne, thou shalt be deflowred, but not dis-
honested, and for amends wee both shall lyve.

A faint
hope.

This further hope remaineth: that as the gilliflower
both pleaseth the eye and feedeth the sence, even so
the vertue of thy chast behaviour may so grace thy
bewty, as Promos filthie lust may bee turned into
faithfull love, and so move him to salve thy honour
in making thee hys wife, or for conscience forbear to
doe so heynous an injurie.

A lovyng
kys.

Soveraigne maddame, and you faire gentlewomen,
(quoth Isabella) I intreate you in Cassandras behalfe,
these reasons well wayed, to judge her yeelding a
constrainte, and no consent; who, werie of her owne
life, and tender over her brothers, with the teares of
her lovely eyes bathed his cheekes, with this com-
fortable sentence.

Lyve Andrugio, and make much of this kisse,
which breatheth my honour into thy bowels, and
draweth the infamie of thy first trespasse into my
bosome.

The sharpe incounters betweene life and death so
occupied Andrugios sences, that his tongue had not

the vertue to bid her fare well. To greeve you with the hearing of Cassandras secrete plaints were an injurie, vertuous ladies, for they concluded with their good fortune, and everlasting fame; but for that her offence grew neyther of frayltie, free wyl, or any motion of a woman, but by the meere inforcement of a man, because she would not staine the modest weedes of her kynde, shee attired her selfe in the habit of a page, and with the bashfull grace of a pure virgin, shee presented wicked Promos Andrugioes precious ransome.

A good consideration in Cassandra.

This devill, in humaine shape, more vicious then Hyliogabalus of Rome, and withall, as cruell as Denis of Sicyll, receaved this juell with a thousande protestations of favour. But what should I say? in the beginnyng of his love Promos was metamorphosed into Priapus: and of a feende what may we expect, but vengeaunce heaped upon villany? And therefore, let it not seeme straunge, that after this helhound had dishonoured Cassandra, hee sent his warrant to the gayler pryvely to execute Andrugio, and, with his head crowned with these two breefes, in Promos name to present Cassandra:

A damnable offence.

Fayre Cassandra, as Promos promist thee,
From pryson loe, he sendes thy brother free.

A villanous ingratitude.

This was his charge, whose cursed wyll had ben executed had not God, by an especiall providence, at the howre of his death possessed Andrugio with the vertues of the two brave Romanes, Marcus Crassus, and Marius, one of whiche by the force of his tongue, and the other by the motions of his eyes, caused the axe to fall out of the headsmans hand, and mollyfyed his cruell mynde.

An especiall providence of God.

With lyke compassion the gayler (in hearinge Andrugios hard adventure) left his resolution; and uppon a solempne othe, to live unknowne, yea, to

A signe of
an honest
nature.

his deare sister, he gave him life, and in the dead of the night, betooke him to God, and to good fortune : which done, this good gayler tooke the head of a yonge man newe executed, who somewhat resembled Andrugio, and according to lewde Promos commaundement made a present thereof to Cassandra.

An unwelcome present,

How unwelcome this present was, the testimonie of her former sorowes somewhat discover ; but to give her present passion a true grace were the taske of Prometheus, or such a one as hath had experience of the anguishes of hell.

O ! quoth shee, sweete Andrugio, whether shall I firste lament thy death, exclaime of Promos injurie, or bemone my owne estate, deprived of honour ? and which is worse, cannot die but by the violence of my owne hands. Alas, the least of these greefes, are to heavie a burden for a man, then all, joyned in one poore womans heart, can not be eased but by death ; and to be avenged of injurious fortune, I wil forthwith cut my fillet of life. But so shall Promos lewdnesse escape unpunished : what remedie ? I am not of power to revenge : to complayne, I expresse my owne infamie, but withal proclaime his vilanie : and to heare his lewdness reproved would take away the bitterness of my death. I will goe unto the king, who is just and mercifull : hee shall heare the ruthfull events of Promos tyrrannie ; and to give him example of vengeance, I will seale my complaintes with my dearest bloode.

Continuing this determination, Cassandra buried her imagined brothers heade, and with speed jorneyed unto king Corvinus court : before whose presence when shee arrived, her mourninge attyre, but especially her modest countenaunce, moved him to beholde her with an especiall regarde.

Cassandra (uppon the graunt of audience) with her eyes overcharged with teares, reported the alreadie

discoursed accidentes, with suche an apparaunce of greefe, as the king and his attendants were astonied to heare her; and sure had shee not been happily prevented, shee had concluded her determination with chast Lucretias destiny. The king comforted her with many gracious words, and promised to take such order, that (although he could not be revived) her brothers death should fully be revenged, and her crased honour repayred, without blemish of her former reputation.

A mischiefe well preven-
ted.

A noble
favour.

Cassandra, upon these comfortable wordes, a lytell succoured her afflicted hart, and with patience attended the justice of the king; who with a chosen companie made a progresse to Julio, and entred the town with a semblaunce of great favour towards Promos, by that colour to learne what other corrupte majestates ruled in the cittie: for well he knewe, that byrdes of a feather would flie together, and wicked men would joyne in affection to boulster each others evil.

A necessary
pollye.

After this gracious king had by heedful intelligence understoode the factions of the people, unlooked for of the magistrates, he caused a proclamation to be published, in which was a clause, that if anie person coude charge anie magistrate or officer with anie notable or haynous offence, treason, murder, rape, sedition, or with any such notorious crime, where they were the judges of the multitude, hee woulde himselfe bee the judge of them, and doe justice unto the meanest.

A Ryall
grace.

Upon this proclamation it was a hell to heare the exclamations of the poore, and the festered consciences of the rich appeared as lothsome as the river of Stix.

The clamo-
rs of the
poore, and
the consci-
ences of the
rich, like
hell.

Among manie that complayned, and received judgement of comfort, Cassandras processe was presented, who, lead betweene sorrow and shame, accused Promos to his face.

Sorrowe and
shame the
attendantes
of Cassan-
dra.

The evidence was so playne, as the horreur of a guiltie conscience reaved Promos of all motions of excuse; so that holding up his hande among the worst degree of theeves, the litle hope that was leaft moved him to confesse the crime, and with repentance to sue for mercy.

An unusual
place for a
judge.

O! (quoth the king) such espetial mercy were tyrannie to a common wealth. No, Promos no: Hoc facias alteri, quod tibi vis fieri: you shall be measured with the grace you bestowed on Andrugio.

A neces-
sarie re-
garde in a
prince.

O God! (quoth hee) if men durst bark as dogges, manie a judge in the world would be bewrayed for a theefe. It behoveth a Prince to know to whom he committeth authoritie, least the sword of justice, appointed to chasten the lewde, wound the good; and where good subjects are wronged, evill officers receive the benefit, and their soveraignes beareth the blame.

Princes
beres the
blame of
evyll officers
extortion.

A just
judgement.

Well, wicked Promos, to scourge thy impious offences, I heere give sentence, that thou foorthwith marry Cassandra, to repayre her honour by thee violated, and that the next day thou lose thy head, to make satisfaction for her brothers death.

The good
protect the
lewde.

This just judgement of the good kinge, in the first point was foorthwith executed; but sacred is the authoritie, that the vertues of the good are a sheelde unto the lewde: so sweete Cassandra, who (simply) by vertue overcame the spight of fortune, in this marriadge was charged with a new assault of sorrow, and preferring the dutie of a wife before the naturall zeale of a sister, where she before prosecuted the revenge of her brothers death, shee now was an humble sutor to the kinge for her husbands lyfe.

The dutie
of a wyfe,
truely
shoven.

The com-
mon weale,
is to be re-
garded be-
fore private
favour.

The gracious kinge sought to appease her with good words, but hee could not do her this private favour without injurie unto the publyke weale; for though (quoth he) your sute be just, and the bounden dutie

of a wife, yet I in fulfilling the same should do unjustly, and (generally) injure my subjects: and therefore, good gentlewoman, have patience, and no doubt vertue in the ende will give you power over all your afflictions.

There was no remedie: Cassandra must departe out of hope to obtayne her sute; but as the experience, is in dayly use, the dooinges of princes post through the world on Pegasus backe, and as their actions are good or badde, so is their fame. With the lyke speede the kynges justice, and Promos execution was spred abroad, and by the tonge of a clowne was blowen into Andrugioes eares, who tyll then lyved lyke an outlawe in the desart woodes.

*Sive bonum
sive malum,
fama est.*

But upon these newes, covertly in the habyt of an hermyt, by the divine motion of the soule, who directes us in thinges that be good, and the flesshe in actions of evyll, Andrugio goes to see the death of his capitall enemye; but on the other parte regarding the sorrow of his sister, he wisshed him lyfe as a friende.

*Good motions,
proceede from
the soule,
and evyll
from the
flesh.*

To conclude, as well to geve terrour to the lewde, as comfort to his good subjectes, the kyng (personallie) came to see the execution of Promos; who, garded with officers, and strengthened with the comfortable perswasions of his ghostly fathers, among whom Andrugio was, meekely offered his lyfe as a satisfaction for his offences, which were many more then the lawe took knowledge of: and yet to say the trueth, suche was his repentance, as the multitude did both forgeve and pittie him; yea, the king wondred that his lyfe was governed with no more vertue, considering the grace he showed at his death.

*A gratefull
parte.*

Andrugio behouldyng this ruethful spectackle was so overcome with love towardes his sister, as to give her comfort he frankly consented anew to emperill his own life; and following this resolution, in his

hermyts weede, upon his knees he humblye desired the kinge too give hym leave to speake. The kyng (gratiously) graunted hym audience. Wherupon (quoth he), regarded soveraigne, if lawe may (possibly) be satisfied, Promos true repentance meriteth pardon.

Murther
asketh
death, and
no other
satisfaction.

Good father (quoth the king) he cannot live, and the lawe satisfied, unlesse (by miracle) Andrugio be revived.

Then (quoth the hermyt) if Andrugio lyve, the law is satisfied, and Promos discharged.

I (quoth the king,) if your praier can revive the one, my mercie shall acquite the other.

Princes are
bounde to
their word.

I humbly thanke your Majestie (quoth Andrugio); and discoveryng himselfe, shewed the providence of God and the meane of his escape: and tendrygne his sisters comfort above his owne safetie, hee prostrated himselfe at his Majesties feete, humblye to obey the sentence of his pleasure. The kinge uppon the reporte of this straunge adventure, after good deliberation, pardoned Promos, to keepe his worde, and withall, houldyng an opinion that it was more benefitall for the citizens, to be ruled by their olde evell governour, new reformed, then to adventure uppon a¹ newe, whose behaviours were unknowne, and to perfect Cassandras joye, he pardoned her brother Andrugio, with condition, that he should marrie Polina. Thus, from betweene the teethe of daunger every partie was preserved, and in the ende established in their hartes desire.

Of two, the
least evill is
least daun-
gerous.

¹ [*An' newe* in text.]



2. *Similar Stories.*



[From Goulart's "*Admirable and Memorable Histories*," 1607.]

THERE was a citizen of Como kept prisoner by a Spanish Captaine, and accused to haue committed a murther, for the which he was in great daunger of his life, in the yeare 1547. The wife of this prisoner beeing faire and of good grace, but chaste, and very carefull for her husbands deliuerie, went and came solliciting for him, by all the means she could deuise. Presenting her selfe vpon her knees, shee beseeched him to saue his prisoners life. This wretch taking her apart, said vnto her, There is one meanes to preserue your husbands life, without the which he must needs die. After some speeches thereupon, he discouers in the end his villanous heart, solliciting her to yield vnto him, with promise that soone after hee would restore her that which shee so much desired. The poore woman beeing fallen into a new affliction, after a long conflict in her thoughts, and an extreame grieue of heart, shee declares vnto her husband the cruell and villanous desire of the Captaine. The husband desirous to saue his life, persuades his wife to yield vnto the Spaniards brutish appetite: who hauing enjoyed the body of this desolate woman, would also haue her satisfie his couetousnesse, paying him two hundred crownes. He added to these two horrible crimes, a third, which was most detestable; for having caused the husband to bee drawne out of

prison, as it were to send him home to his house, and to deliuer him to his wife, who hoped for no lesse. This disloyall Captaine made the poore man to be presently carried backe into prison, and afterwards caused his head to bee cut off. The woman opprest with grieve, reports all this historie vnto her friends, and by their aduise complaines to the Duke of Ferrara, who being extreemely mooued at these crimes, sends presently for the Captaine, who being examined and found guiltie, he demands pardon: he is first condemned to restore presently the two hundred ducats, and to adde seauen hundred more. Secondly, hee causeth a Priest to come, and forceth the Captaine to marry the widow in presence of them all. Thirdly, and at the same instant, instead of a nuptiall bedde, going out of the Church, hee caused a Gybbet to be set vp, whereas the Spanish Captaine was hanged, and the widow honourably sent home to her house.

They report a Historie of one who did yet worse. It was the Prouost la Vouste, who plaied a wicked part with a certaine honest woman. She comming unto him to make sute for her husband, whom this Prouost kept in prison, was required to graunt him one nights pleasure, and he would yield to whatsoeuer shee her selfe demanded.

This woman finding her selfe much perplexed, looking on the one side to her breach of faith plighted to her husband, and on the other side, his life which she should saue, shee was very desirous to acquaint her husband there-with; who hauing dispenced there-withall, shee then yields vnto the Prouosts brutish desire, resting assured that he would certainly keepe promise with her, concerning her husband. But in the morning this most vilde wretch, (after he had caused her husband to be hanged) said thus vnto her, I did promise indeede to restore you your husband, I keepe him not, but I yield him unto you.

[From Giraldis Cinthio, Nov. 5, Dec. 8.]

Iuriste è mandato da Massimiano Imperadore in Ispurchi, oue fà prendere un Giouane violatore di una Vergine, & condannalo a morte; la Sorella cerca di liberarlo; Iuriste da sperāza alla donna di pigliarla per moglie, & di darle libero il fratello; ella con lui si giace, & la notte istessa Iuriste fà tagliar al Giouane la testa, & la mada alla Sorella; ella ne fà querela all' Imperadore, il quale fa sposare ad Iuriste la Donna, poscia lo fa dare ad essere ucciso; la Donna lo libera, & con lui si viue amoreuolissimamente.

NOVELLA V.

ANCHORA che Matea paresse alle Donne degna di ogni gran pena, et per la ingratitudine vsata verso quella Reina, & per lo dishonesto congiū gimento col fratello, nondimeno a gran fatica tennero le lagrime, quando sentiro le parole, ch'ella, poco auanti la morte, hauea dette, & le pregarono tutte requie. Mā di Acolasto, & di Fritto non nè hebbe nè huomo, nè Donna compassione, & alcuno di loro si marauigliò, che Jddio tanto sostenuti gli hauesse. Mā dissero gli huomini maturi, che Jddio lascia gli rei viui trà buoni, perche quelli siano a questi, come uno essercitio continuo, & quasi sproni a ricorrere a lui. Oltre, che gli tolera anco la sua Maestà, per vedere se volessero volgere la mente a miglior vita: mā, quando gli vede ostinati nel male operare, tale dà loro finalmente, il gastigo, quale costoro l'haueano hauuto. Et, tacendo

già ogn'uno, disse Fulua; deuriano i Signori, che sono posti da Iddio a gouerno del Mondo, non meno punire la ingratitude, quall' hora viene loro a notitia, che puniscono gli Homicidiali, gli Adulteri, i Ladronecci, i quali quantunque siano delitti graui, sono forse di minor pena degni, che la Ingratitude, Dalla qual cos a spinto Massimiano, il Grande, dignissimo Imperadore, uolle ad un tratto punire la Ingratitude, & la Ingiustitia di un suo ministro, & ne sarebbe seguito l'effetto, se la bontà della Donna, contra la quale lo ingrato si era mostrato ingiustissimo, non l'hauesse, con la sua cortesia, dalla pena liberato, come mi apparecchio di dimostrarui.

Mentre questo gran signore, che fù raro essemplio di Cortesia, di Magnanimità, & di singolare Giustitia, reggeua felicissimamente lo Imperio Romano, mandaua suoi ministri, a gouernare gli stati, che fioriuano sotto il suo Imperio. Et, fra gli altri, mandò al Gouerno d'Ispruchi vn suo famigliare; che molto caro gli era, chiamato Iuriste. Et prima, che là il mandasse, gli disse; Iuriste, la buona opinione, che io ho conceputa di te, mentre al mio seruigio sei stato, mi fa mandarti Gouernatore di così nobile Città, quale è Ispruchi, sul quale reggimento, molte cose ti potrei comandare, ma tutte in vna le voglio ri stringere: la quale è, che serui inuiolabilmente la Giustitia, se bene hauessi a giudicare contra me medesimo, che tuo Signor sono: & ti auiso, che tutti altri mancamenti, o siano per ignoranza, o pur per negligenza commessi (anchora che da questi, uoglio, che quanto più ti fie possibile ti guardi) ti potrei perdonare, ma cosa fatta contra la Giustitia appresso me non ritrouerebbe perdono. Et, se forse tu non ti senti di deure essere tale, quale io ti desidero (perche ogni huo mo, non è buono ad ogni cosa) rimanti di pigliare questo maneggio, & restati più tosto quì in Corte, oue caro ti bo; a tuoi vsati vffici, che coll'essere Gouernatore di

questa Città, mi inducesti a far quello contra te, che, non senza mio grā dispiacere, mi conuerebbe di fare per debito di Giustitia, quādo tu la Giustitia non seruasti, Et quì si tacque. Iuriste, uie più lieto dell' vfficio, a che il chiamaua lo Imperadore, che buon conoscitore di sè stesso. Ringratiò il suo Sinore del l' moreuole ricordo, & gli disse; ch' egli era da sè animato alla conseruation della Giustitia: Ma che tanto più la conseruerebbe hora, quanto le parole sue gli erano state come una facella, che uie più a ciò fare l' haueua acceso. Et chē gli daua l' animo di riuscir tale in questo gouerno, che sua Maestà nō haurebbe se nō cagion di lodarlo. Piacquero allo Imperadore le parole di Iuriste, e gli disse; veramente non haurò se non cagion di lodarti, se così buoni saranno i fatti, come son buone le parole. F' fattegli dare le lettere patēti, che già erano espedita, là il mandò. Cominciò Iuriste a reggere la Città assai prudētemēte, e cō molta diligenza, vsando gran cura, e molto studio in fare, che giusta si stesse l' una, e l' altra bilāce, non meno ne giudicij, che nelle dispēsationi de li uffici, e nel pre miare le Virtù, & punire i Vitij. Et durò grā tēpo, che, con tale temperamēto, si acquistò maggior gratia appresso il suo Signore, e si guadagnò la beniuolēza di tutto quel popolo. Et si poteua riputare felice fra gli altri, se con tal maniera fosse continuato in quel gouerno. Auenne, che vn Giouane della terra Vieo chiamato, se forza ad vna Giouane cittadina di Jspruchi, onde ne fù fatta que rela ad Iuriste. Et egli di subito il fece prēdere, e cōfessata, ch' egli hebbe la uio lenza fatta alla vergine, il cōdāno, secondo la legge di quella Città, che uolea, che tali fossero condannati alla pena della testa, se bene anco si disponessero a pigliarla per Moglie. Haueua questi vna Sorella, che Vergine era, e non passaua diciotto anni, la quale, oltra ch' era ornata di estrema bellezza, haueua vna dolcissima maniera di

fauellare, & portaua seco vna presenza amabile, accompagnata da donesca honestà ; Costei, ch' Epitia hauea nome, sentendo essere condannato a morte il Fratello, fù soprapresa da grauissimo dolore : & deliberossi di volere vedere, s' ella potesse, se non liberare il Fratello, almeno ammollirgli la pena : &, essendo ella stata sotto la disciplina, insieme còl Fratello, di vno huomo antico, c'hauea tenuto in casa il Padre suo, ad insegnare ad ambidue loro Philosophia, anchora che il Fratello male usata l'hauesse, se n' an dò ad Iuriste, & il pregò ad hauere cōpassione a suo Fratello, e per la poca età, però ch' egli non passaua sedici anni, la quale, il faceua degno di scusa, & per la poca esperienza, & per lo stimolo, ch' Amore gli haueua al fianco : Mostrā dogli, ch' era opinione di più saui, che l' Adulterio, commesso per forza d' Amore, & non per fare ingiuria al Marito della Donna, meritaua minor pena, che chi per ingiuria il faceua : & che il medesimo si de ueua dire, nel caso del suo Fratello, il quale non per ingiuria, ma spinto d' ardente amore, quello fatto haueua, per cui condannato egli era : & che, in amenda dell' errore commesso, egli era per pigliare la Giouane per moglie ; &, quantunque la legge disponesse : che ciò non giouasse a chi le Vergini uiolasse, poteua egli nondimeno, come prudente, ch' egli era, mitigare quella seuerità la quale portaua seco più tosto offesa, che Giustitia : essendo egli in quel luogo, per l' auttorità hauuta dall' Imperadore, la legge uiua, la quale auttorità ella uoleua credere, che gli hauesse data sua Maestà, perche egli coll' Equità si mostrasse più tosto clemēte, che aspro. Et che se questo temperamento si deueua usare in caso alcuno, si deueua egli usare nè casi d' Amore, quando spetialmente rimaneua saluo l' honore della donna violata, come era egli per vimanere nel caso di suo Fratello, il quale, era prontissimo a prenderla per moglie : & ch' ella credea, che tale fosse stata consti-

tuta la legge più per porre terrore, che, perche ella fosse seruata, che le pareua una crudeltà, il volere colla morte punire quello peccato, che con sodisfattione dell' offeso poteua essere honoreuolmente, & santamente emandato : & aggiungendo a queste, altre ragioni, cercò d'indurre Iuriste a perdonare a quel Meschino. Iuriste, cui non meno dilettaua gli orecchi il dolce modo di fauellare di Epitia, che gli delettasse la sua grā bellezza gli occhi, fatto insieme vago di vederla, & di vdlirla, la indusse a replicargli il medesimo vn' altra uolta. La donna, pigliando da ciò buono augurio, quello istesso gli disse, con uie maggiore efficacia, che prima. Onde se ne rima se, & dalla gratia del faueilare di Epitia, & dalla rara bellezza, come vin to : &, tocco da libidinoso appetito, uolto la mente a commettere in lei quello errore, per lo quale haueua condannato Vieo alla morte. Et, le disse ; Epitia, di tanto hanno giouato le ragioni a tuo Fratello, che oue diman gli deueua essere tagliata la testa, si differirà la essecutione insino a tanto, che habbia considerate le ragioni, che addotte mi hai : &, se tali li ritrouerò, che ti possano dare libero il tuo Fratello, lo ti darò tanto più volentieri, quanto me incresce hauerlo veduto condotto a morte, per lo rigore della dura legge, che così a disposto. Presse da queste parole Epitia buona speranza, & lo ringratiò molto, ch' egli così cortesse le si fosse mostrato, & gli disse, di deuer gli essere eternamente obligata : Pensandosi di non ritrouarlo meno cortese in liberarle il fratello, che cortese l'hauesse ritrouato in prolungargli il termine della vita : & gli soggiunse, che ella fermamente speraua, che, s'egli consideraua le cose dette, con liberarle il fratello, 'la farebbe pienamente contenta ; & egli le disse, che le considererebbe, & che (quando senza offendere la Giustitia il potesse fare) non mancherebbe di adempire il suo desiderio : tutta piena di speranza si partì Epitia, & se n' andò

al fratello, & tutto quello gli disse, che con Iuriste ella fatto hauea, & quanto di speranza ella ne hauea, conceputa nel primo ragionamento: fù ciò, in quello estremo caso, molto grato a Vico; & la pregò a non mancare de sollecitare la sua liberatione, & la Sorella gli promise ogni suo ufficio. Iuriste, che la forma della Donna hauea nell' animo impressa, voltò ogni suo pensiero, come lasciuo, ch' egli era, a potersi godere di Epitia, & perciò attendeua, ch' ella vn' altra uolta gli ritornasse a parlare. Ella, passati tre giorni, ui ritornò, & tutta cortese gli dimandò quello, ch'egli hauesse deliberato. Iuriste, sì tosto, che la vide, si sentì venir, tutto fuoco, & le disse; ti sii bella Giouane, ben venuta; io non son mancato di vedere diligentemente ciò, che potessero operare le tue ragioni, a fauore di tuo fratello, & ne hò cercate delle altre anchora, perche tu rimanesti contenta: mà ritrouo, che ogni cosa conchiude la morte sua: perche vi è vna legge vniuersale, che quando vn pecca non per ignoranza, ma ignorantemente, non può hauere alcuna scusa il suo peccato, perche deuea sapere quello, che deono sapere tutti gli huomini vniuersalmente a viuere bene, & chi con questa ignoranza pecca, non merita nè scusa, nè compassione. Et, essendo in questo caso tuo fratello, il quale deuea molto ben sapere, che la legge uolea, che chi violaua la Vergine meritasse morte, se ne dee morire: nè io gli posso di ragione vsar misericordia. Egli è vero, che quanto a te, allaquale desidero di far cosa grata, quando tu (poi che tanto ami tuo fratello) vogli essere contenta di compiacermi di te, io son disposto di fargli gratia della vita, & mutare la morte in pena men graue. Diuenne tutta fuoco nel viso a queste parole Epitia, & gli disse; la vita di mio fratello mi è molto cara, ma vie più caro mi è l'honor mio, & più tosto con perdita della vita cercherei di saluarlo, che con perdita dell'honore: però lasciate questo vostro dishonesto pensiero: ma, se per altra via posso ricuperare

il mio fratello, che compiacerui, il farò molto volentieri: altra via, disse Juriste, non vi è, che quella, che detto ti ho, nè ti doureste mostrartene così schifa, perche potrebbe ageuolmente auenire, che tali sariano i nostri primi congiungimenti, che mia moglie diuerresti. Non uoglio, disse Epitia, porre in pericolo l'honor mio; et perche in pericolo? disse Juriste, forse che tal sei tù, che non ti puoi pensare, che così debba essere. Pensauì ben sopra, & ne aspetterò per tutto domane la risposta. La risposta vi dò io insino ad hora, disse ella, che non mi pigliando voi per inoglie, quando pure vogliate, che la liberation di mio fratello da ciò dependa: gittate al vento le parole. Riplicolle Juriste, ch'ella vi pensasse, & gli riportasse la risposta, considerando diligentemente chi gli era, quello, ch'egli poteua in quella Terra, & quanto potesse essere vtile non pure a lei, ma a qualunque altro essergli amico, hauendo egli, in quel luogo, in mano la Ragione, & la Fortezza. Si partì Epitia da lui tutta turbata, & se n'andò al fratello, & gli disse ciò, che frà lei, & Juriste era auenuto: conchiudendogli, ch'ella non voleua perdere l'honore suo, per saluare a lui la vita: & piangendo, il pregò a disporsi a tollerare patientemente quella Sorte, che, òla necessità de' Fati, ò la sua mala Fortuna gli apportaua. Quì si diede a piangere, & a pregare la Sorella Vieo, ch'ella non vollesse consentire alla sua morte, potendo nella guisa, che proposta le haueua Juriste, liberarla. Vorrai tù forse disse Epitia, vedermi la manaia sul collo, & troncato quel capo, che teco è di vn medesimo ventre, & da vn medesimo Padre generato, & teco insino a questa età cresciuto, & discipline teco nutrito, gittato a terra dal Manigoldo? Ahi Sorella, possa tanto in tè, le ragioni della Natura del sangue, & l'amoreuolezza, che è sempre stata frà noi, che tu potendo, come puoi, mi liberi da così uituperoso, & miserabile fine: hò errato, il confesso; tù Sorella mia, che puoi correggere l'error mio, non mi essere

auara del tuo aiuto, hatti detto Iuriste, che ti potrebbe pigliare per moglie, & perche non dei tu pensare, che così debba essere? Tu bellissima sei, ornata di tutte quelle gratie, che a Gentildonna può dar la Natura, sei gentilezza, & auenente, hai vna mirabile maniera di fauellare, il che fa, che non pure tutte queste cose insieme, ma ciascuna per sè, ti può far cara, non dirò ad Iuriste, ma allo Imperadore del Mondo: però non hai da dubitar punto, che Iuriste, per moglie nò sia per prenderti: & così, saluo il tuo honore, fie salua insieme del tuo Fra tello la vita. Piangeua Vico queste parole, dicendo, & insieme seco piangeua Epitia, la quale, hauendo abbracciata al collo Vico, non prima la lasciò, che fù costretta (vinta da pianti del Fratello) di promettergli, che ad Iuriste darebbe, poi che così a lui pareua, quando gli volesse saluare la vita, & la mantenesse nella speranza di pigliarla per moglie. Conchiuso questo frà loro il giorno appresso se n' andò la Giouane ad Iuriste, & gli disse, che la speranza, ch'egli le hauea data di pigliarla per moglie, dopò i primi congiungimenti, & il desiderio di liberare il Fratello non pure dalla morte, ma da qualunque altra pena, ch'egli, per l' errore da lui commesso, meritasse, l'haueua indotta a porsi tutta in suo arbitrio: & che per l'uno, & per l'altro ella era con tenta di darglisi, ma sopra tutto ella voleua, ch'egli le promettessi la salute, & la libertà del fratello. Iuriste vie più mi di ogn'altro huomo si tenne felice, poiche di sì bella, & leggiadra Giouane deueua godere, & le disse; che quella, medesima speranza egli le daua, che prima le hauea data, & che il fratello libero dalle carcere le darrebbe la mattina appresso, ch'egli con lei stato si fosse: così hauendo cenato insieme Iuriste, & Epitia se n'andarono poscia a letto, & si prese il Maluagio della donna compiuto piacere: ma, prima ch'egli andasse a giacersi colla Vergine, in veci id liberare Vico, commisse, che subito gli fosse tagliata ta

testa. La donna bramosa di veder il fratello libero, non vide l'ora, che apparisse il giorno, e le parue, che mai tanto non tardasse il Sole a menare il giorno, quanto quella notte. Venuta la mattina, Epitia sciolta dalle braccia di Iuriste, il pregò, con dolcissima maniera, che gli piacesse di adempire la speranza, ch' egli data l' hauea di pigliarlasì per moglie, e che frà tanto, le mādasse libero il Fratello. Et egli le rispose, che gli era stato carissimo l' essere stato con esso lei & che le piaceua, ch' ella hauesse conceputa la sperāza, ch'egli l' haueua data, & che a casa il Fratello le mandarebbe. Et così detto, fè chiamare il Prigioniere, & gli disse; Vanne alla prigione, & tranne fuo ri il Fratello di questa donna, & condugliele a casa. Epitia, ciò vdito, piena di molta allegrezza a casa se n' andò, aspettando libero il fratello; Il prigionere fatto porre il corpo di Vieo sopra la barra, gli misse il capo a piedi, e copertolo di panno negro, andando egli auanti, il fè portare ad Epitia. Et entrato in casa, fatta chiamare la Giouane; questo è disse, il Fratello vostro, che uì māda il Sig. Gouernatore libero dalla prigione: & così detto, fè scoprir la barra, & l'offerse il Fratello in quella guisa, c'hauete vdito. Io non credo, che lingua potesse di re, nè comprendere humana mente quale, & quanto fosse l' affanno, & il cordoglio di Epitia, veduto offerirsi quel Fratello in quella guisa morto, ch' ella aspettaua con somme allegrezza di uedere uiuo, et assoluto da ogni pena; mi cre do ben donne, che voi crediate, che tale, & tanto fù il dolore della misera donna, che auanzò ogni spetie di ambascia. Ma ella lo chiuse entro il cuore, & oue qualunque altra Donna si saria messa a piangere, & a gridare, ella, cui la Philosophia hauea insegnato qual debbia essere l' animo humano in ogni fortuna, mostrò di rimanersi contenta, E disse al prigionere; Tù dirai al tuo Signore, & mio, che quale gli è piaciuto di mandarmi il Fratello mio, tale io l'

accetto : & che, poi ch' egli non hà uoluto adempire il uoler mio, io mi rimango contenta ch' gli habbia adempito il suo, & così il suo uolere faccio mio : pensando, ch' esso giustamente fatto habbia quello, che fatto egli hà, & gli mi raccommendarai, offerendogli prestissima a sempre piacerle. Riferì ad Iuriste il Prigioniere ciò, che Epitia detto gli haueua, dicendogli, ch' ella segno alcuno di discontentezza, non hauea dato, a così horribile spettacolo. Restò frà sè contento Iuriste ciò udendo, & uenne in pensiero di potere hauere non altrimente la Giouane a uoglia sua, che s'ella fosse sua moglie, e le hauesse egli uiuo offerto Vieo. Epitia, partito il prigioniere, fè sopra il morto fratello, dirottissimamente piangendo, lunga, & dolente querla. Maledicendo la crudeltà di Iuriste, & la simplicità sua, che prima gli si fosse data, c' hauesse hauuto libero il suo fratello. Et, dopo molte lagrime, fè dare sepoltura al morto corpo. Et, ridottosi poscia sola nella sua stanza, spinta da giustissimo sdegno cominciò a dir seco ; dun que tolererai tu Epitia, che questo Ribaldo te habbia tolto il tuo honore, e perciò ti habbia promesso di darti libero, & uiuo il fratel tuo, & poscia lo ti habbia in sì miserabile forma offerto morto ? Tolererai tù, ch' egli di due tale inganni, fatti alla tua simplicità, si possa uantare, senza hauerne da te medesima il debito gastigo ? Et accendendo con tali parole sè alla uendetta, disse ; la mia simplicità hà aperta la uia a questo scelarato di arreccare a fine il suo disonesto desiderio : voglio io, che la sua lasciuia mi dia il modo di vendicarmi, & se bene il far uendetta, non mi darà il mio Fratello uiuo, mi sarà ella nōdimeno unpassamento di noiz : & in tanta turbatione di amino, quasi sù questo pensiero si fermo. Aspettando, che Iuriste di nuouo la mandasse à dimandare, per giacersi con lei ; oue andando, haueua deliberato portar seco celatamente il coltello, & veggiando, ò dormendo, come prima

tempo se ne vedesse suenarlo. Et se il destro se ne vedesse leuargli la testa, & portarla al Sepolchro del Fratello, & all'ombra sua sacrarla. Ma pensando poi sopra ciò più maturamente, vide, che, anchora che le venisse fatto di vccidere il Frodolente, si potrebbe ageuolmente presumere, che ella, come dishonesta donna, & per ciò ardita ad ogni male, ciò hauesse fatto per ira, & per sdegno più tosto, che perche egli fosse mancato di fede. Onde essendole noto quanta fosse la Giustitia dell' Imperadore, il quale allhora era à Villaco, deliberossi di andarlo à ritrouare, & dolersi appresso sua maestà della ingratitudine, & della ingiustitia vsatale da Iuriste. Portando ferma opinione, che quell'ottimo, & Giustissimo Imperadore farebbe portare giustissima pena a quel maluagio, & della ingiustitia, & della ingratitudine sua. Et vestitassi di habito lugubre, messasi tutta sola segretamente in camino, se n' andò à Massimiano, & fattagli chiedere vdienna, & ottenutala, gli si gittò à piedi, & accompagnando còl dolente habito la mesta voce, gli disse; Sacratissimo Imperadore, mi ha spinta auanti la Maestà vostra, la fiera ingratitudine, & la incredibile ingiustitia, che mi hà Iuriste vsata, Gouvernatore in Jspruchi di vostra Cesarea Maestà. Sperando, ch' ella adopererà in guisa la sua Giustitia, che à niun misero vène mai meno, che come mi hò da dolere infinitamente di Iuriste, per lo torto, ch' egli mi hà fatto, di cui non fù mai vdito il maggiore, non si anderà altiero di hauermi, come mi hà, miseramente assassinata (siami lecito vsare questa parola innanzi vostra Maestà) la quale anchora, che paia aspera, nō agguaglia nondimeno la crudele, & non mai più vdita onta, che mi hà fatto questo mal huomo: facendomisi ad vn tratto conoscere, & ingiustissimo, & ingrattissimo. Et quì, dirrottamente piangendo, & sospirando narrò à sua Maestà, come Iuriste sotto speranza di pigliarla per moglie, & de liberarle il fratello, le hauea leuata

la Verginità: & poscia le hauea mandato il fratello suso vna barra morto colla testa a piedi; & quì mise sì gran grido, & allargò sì gli occhi al pianto, che commosse in guisa, & l'Imperadore, & gli altri Signori, che a torno sua Maestà erano, che se ne stauano, per la pietà, come huomini adombrati. Ma, anchora che Massimiano molta compassione le hauesse: nondimeno hauēdo data vna delle orecchie ad Epitia (la quale al fin delle parole egli fe leuare in piedi) serbò l'altra, per Iuriste, & mandata la dona a riposarsi: Mandò su bito à chiamare Iuriste, commettendo, & al messo, à tutto gli altri, che iui erano, che, per quanto era lor cara la gratia sua, di ciò non dicessero ad Iuriste parola. Iuriste, che ogn'altra cosa si hauerebbe più tosto pensata, che Epitia, fosse andata allo Imperadore, vi venne tutto lieto; Et giunto alla presenza di sua Maestà, fatta che gli hebbe riuerenza, le chiefe ciò, ch'ella da lui volesse; Hora, hora il saprai, disse Massimiano. Et di subito fè chiamare Epitia, Iuriste veduta iui colei, cui sapeua egli di hauere grauemente offesa, vinto dalla coscienza, in guisa si smarri, che abbandonato da gli spiriti vitali, cominciú tutto à tremare. La qual cosa veggendo Massimiano, tenne certo, che la donna nulla meno del vero detto le hauesse. Et riuoltosi verso lui, con quella seuerità, che à così atroce caso si conueniua; odi, disse, di che si duol di te questa Giouane. Et commisse ad Epitia, che quello dicesse, di che ella si lamentaua. La quale per ordine tutta la historia gli narrò, & al fine, come prima dolēte all'Imperadore chiese Giustitia. Iuriste sentita l'accusa, vole lusingare la donna, dicendo: io non haurei mai creduto, che voi, che tanto amo, foste venuta à così accusarmi anāti sua Maestà; Nō consentì Massimiano, che Iuriste lusingasse la Giouane: Et disse, non è tempo di fare quì l'appassionato, rispondi pure alla accusa, ch'ella ti hà data Iuriste: all'hora lasciato

quello, che gli poteua far dāno ; Egli è uero disse, che ho fatta tagliare la testa al Fratel di costei, per hauere egli rapita, & fatto forza ad una Vergine, & ciò ho io fatto, per nō uiolare la Sā tità delle leggi, & per seruare quella Giustitia, che tanto raccomandata mi ha ueua la Maestà uostra, sēza offesa della quale egli uiuo non potea rimanere. Quì Epitia, & se così ti pareua, che uolesse la Giustitia, perche mi promettesti tū di darlomi uiuo, & sotto questa promessa, dandomi speranza di pigliarmi per mogli, mi priuasti della Virginità mia : se meritò mio Fratello sentire per un peccato solo la seuerità della Giustitia, tu per due uie più di lui tel meriti. Rimase quì come muto Iuriste. Onde lo Imperadore : parti disse Iuriste, che questo sia stato serbare la giustitia, o pure hauer la offesa talmente, che l'hai po co meno, che uccisa ? con l'hauere usata la maggiore ingratitudine uerso questa gentil Giouane, ch'usasse mai scelerato alcuno ? ma non te n'andrai lieto, credilo à me : Cominciò quì Iuriste à domandar mercede : Et Epitia, allo incontro, a dimandar Giustitia. Conosciuta da Massimiano la simplicità della Giouane donna, & la maluagità di Iuriste. Pensò subito, come potesse serbare l'honore alla donna, & seruare parimente la Giustitia, & trà sè risolutosi di quanto uoleua fare, uolle, che Iuriste sposasse Epitia. Non uoleua consentirlo la donna, dicendo, ch'ella non potea pensare di deuer mai hauer da lui se non sceleragini, & tradimenti. Ma uolle Massimiano, che di quello ella fosse contenta, ch'egli hauea deliberato ; Sposata la dōna, si credette Iuriste, che fosse messo fine a suoi mali : Ma altrimenti auenne, imperoche, data licenza Massimiano alla donna, che all' albergo si riducesse, uoltatosi uerso Iuriste che iui era rimaso, gli disse ; Due, sono stati i tuoi delitti, & ambidue molto graui ; L'uno, l'hauer uituperata questa Giouane, con tale inganno, che si dee dire, che le habbi fatta forza ; l' altro l' hauerle ucciso,

contra la fede datale, il suo Fratello, il quale, anchor che meritasse la morte, era nondimen degno (poi che à uiolar la Giustitia ti eri disposto) che più tosto tu mantenessi la fede alla sua Sorella, poi che la tua dissoluta lasciua à prometterglike, sulla fede, te haueua ridotto, che, fatta à lei uergogna, mandarglike, come mandato glike hai, morto. Però, poi che al primo peccato ho proueduto, con l' hauerti fatta sposare la uiolata donna, in emenda del secondo uoglio, che così sia à te tagliata la testa, come al suo fratello la facesti tagliare. Quanto graue fosse il dolore di Iuriste, vdata la sentenza dell' Imperatore, si può più tosto imaginare, che, pienamente narrarlo. Fù adunque dato Iuriste à Sergenti, perche, la mattina appresso, egli fosse, secondo il tenore della sentenza, vcciso. La onde Iuriste del tutto à morir disposto, non attendeua altro senone, che il Manigoldo a guastarlo andasse. Frà questo tempo Epitia, che così ardente era stata cōtra lui, vdata la sentenza dell' Imperadore, mossa dalla sua naturale benignità, giudicò, che non fosse cosa degna di lei, che dapoì che l' Imperatore hauea voluto, che Iuriste suo Marito fosse, & ella per tale l' hauea accettato, consentisse, che gli fosse per suo cagione data morte. Parendole, che ciò le potesse essere più tosto attribuito ad appetito di vendetta, & à crudeltà, che à desiderio di Giustitia. Per la qual cosa piegando tutto il pensiero alla salute del Cattiuello, se n' andò allo Imperadore : & hauuta licenza di parlare, così disse ; Sacratissimo Imperadore, la ingiustitia, & la ingratitudine, che vsata mi haueua Iuriste, me indussero à chiedere giustitia contra lui da vostra Maestà. La quale, come Giustissima, à due delitti cōmessi da lui hà giustissimamente proueduto ; all' vno, che fù il tormi con inganno la Verginità mia, col far, ch' egli per moglie mi prēda ; all' altro, che fù l'hauermi vcciso il Fratello, contra la fede datami, col condannarlo à morte. Ma, come,

prima, che sua moglie fussi, deuea desiderare, che vostra Maestà à quella morte il condannasse, alla quale ella giustissimamente condannato l' hà ; così hora, poi che à lei piacciuto è, che, còl Santo vincolo del matrimonio, io sia ad Iuriste legata, mi terrei se alla sua morte cōsentissi, meritar nome di spietata, & crudel donna, con perpetua infamia : il che sarebbe effetto contrario alla intention di Vostra Maestà, la quale, colla sua Giustitia, hà cercato l'honor mio. Però, Sacratissimo Imperadore, accioche la buona intention di Vostra Maestà il suo fine conseguisca, & l'honor mio senza macchia se ne rimagna ; pregoui, humilissimamente, & con ogni riuerenza, à non volere ; che per la sentenza di vostra Maestà, la spaaa, della Giustitia scioglia miseramente quel nodo, còl quale hà piacciuto a lei cō Iuriste legarmi : & oue la sentenza di vostra Maestà, hà dato chiaro segno della sua Giustitia, in condannarlo alla morte, così hora le piaccia, come di nuouo affettuosamente la prego, fare manifesta la sua Clemenza còl donar lomi viuo ; Non è, Sacratissimo Imperatore, punto minor loda, a chi tiene il gouerno del Mondo, come hora, vostra Maestà dignissimamente il tiene, l' usa re la Clemenza, che la Giustitia : che oue questa mostra, che i vitij gli sono in odio, & perciò dan loro gastigo. Quella lo so simiglientissimo a gli Iddij immortali. Et io, se questa singolar gratia otterrò dalla benignità vostra, per lo benigno atto, vsato uerso me, humilissima serua di Vostra Maestà, pregherò, sempre con diuota mente Iddio, che degni conseruare à lunghi, & à felici anni la Maestà vostra, accioche ella possa lungamente vsare la Giustitia, & la Clemenza sua à beneficio de mortali, & ad honore, & immortal gloria sua ; & qui pose fine Epitia al suo parlare. Parue cosa marauigliosa à Massimiano ch'ella, posta in oblio la graue ingiuria riceuuta du Iuriste, per lui sì caldamente pregasse. Et gli parue, che tanta bontà, ch'egli vide

in quella Donna, meritasse ch'egli, per gratia le concedesse colui viuo, che era stato à morte per Giustitia condannato. Onde fatto chiamare Iuriste dinanzi à sè, in quell' hora, ch'egli attendeua di essere condotto à morte, gli disse ; Ha potuto, reo huomo, tanto nel cospetto mio la bontà di Epitia, che, oue la tua sceleragine meritaua, di essere punita, con doppia morte, non, che con vna, ella mi hà mosso à farti gratia della vita : la qual vita, io voglio, che tu conoschi da lei. Et poscia, ch'ella si contenta di viuer teco, con quel legame congiunta, col quale io con lei volli, che ti legasti, son contento, che tu, con lei ti viua. Et se sentirò mai, che tu meno, che da amoreuolissima, & cortesissima mogli la tratti, io ti farò prouare quanto sarà il dispiacere, che mi farai : & con queste parole presa lo Imperatore, Epitia per mano, ad Iuriste la diede ; Ella, Iuriste insime, rese gratie à sua Maestà, della gratia loro concessa, & del fauor fatto. Et Iuriste, considerata quanta verso lui fosse stata la cortesia de Epitia, l' hebbe sempre carissima ; onde ella con lui felicissimamente visse il rimanente de gli anni suoi.

JULIUS CÆSAR.





1. *The Life of Iulivs Cæsar.*



[From North's "*Plutarch.*"]

AFTER all these things were ended, he was chosen Consull the fourth time, and went into Spaine to make warre with the sonnes of Pompey : who were yet but very yong, but had notwithstanding raised a maruellous great army together, and shewed to haue had manhood and courage worthy to commaund such an armie, insomuch as they put Cæsar himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought between them in all this war, was by the citie of Mynda. For then Cæsar seeing his men sorely distressed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies, he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them : what, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your own hands to these yong boyes ? And so, with all the force he could make, hauing with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slue aboue thirtie thousand of them in the field, and lost of his owne men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victorie, but this last time now, that he had fought

for the safetie of his owne life. He wan this battell on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say, that Pompey the great went out of Rome, about foure yeares before, to begin this ciuill war. For his sonnes, the yonger scaped from the battell; but within few days after, Diddius brought the head of the elder. This was the last warre that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romaines, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before : because he had not ouercome Captaines that were strangers, nor barbarous Kings, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in Rome, whom fortune had ouerthrowne. And because he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumph so for the calamities of his countrey, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had neuer before sent letters nor messengers vnto the commō-wealth at Rome, for any victorie that he had euer won in all the ciuill warres : but did alwayes for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the Romaines inclining to Cæsars prosperitie, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for thē to take breath a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these ciuil warres : they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyrannie : for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraid to be deposed : Cicero propounded before the Senate, that they should giue him such honors as were meet for a man : howbeit others afterwards added too, honors beyond all reason. For, men striuing who should most honour him, they made him

hatefull and troublesome to themselues that most fauored him, by reason of the vnmeasureable greatnesse and honours which they gaue him. Thereupon it is reported, that euen they that most hated him, were no lesse fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that most flattered him: because they might haue greater occasions to rise, and that it might appeare they had iust cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himselfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did so honorably behaue himselfe, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore me thinkes amongst other honours they gaue him, he rightly deserued this, that they should build him a temple of clemencie, to thank him for his courtesie he had vsed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes against him, and furthermore, did preferre some of them to honor and office in the common-wealth: as among others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And where Pompeys images had bene throwne down, he caused them to be set vp againe: whereupon Cicero said then, that Cæsar setting vp Pompeys images againe, he made his owne to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsell him to haue a guard for the safetie of his person, and some also did offer themselues to serue him: he would neuer consent to it, but said, it was better to die once, then alwayes to be affraid of death. But to win himself the loue and good will of the people, as the honorablest guard and best safetie he could haue: he made common feasts again, and generall distributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the souldiers also, he replenished many cities againe with inhabitants, which before had bene destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the noblest & chiefeest cities were these two, Carthage

and Corinth, and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and destroyed together ; euen so were they both set afoote againe, and replenished with people, at one selfe time. And as for great personages, he wan them also, promising some of them, to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferments, but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the waies he could to make euery man contented with his raigne. Insomuch as one of the Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his Consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilus Consul only for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his house (as the maner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer : Cicero pleasantly said, Come, let vs make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulship come out. Furthermore, Cæsar being borne to attempt all great enterprises, and hauing an ambitious desire besides to couet great honors : the prosperous good successe he had of his former conquests, bred no desire in him quietly to enioy the fruites of his labors, but rather gaue him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glorie, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himselfe as with another man, and a certaine contention to ouercome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make warre with the Persians. Then when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (compassing in the sea Caspium, and mount Caucasus) into the Realme of Pontvs, and so inuade Scythia : and ouerrunning all the countries, and people adioyning vnto high Germanie, and Germanie it selfe, at length

to returne by Gavle into Italy, and so to enlarge the Romiane Empire round, that it might be euery way compassed in with the great sea Oceanum. But whilst he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of Peloponnesvs, in the market place where the citie of Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, straight from Rome, vnto the citie of Circees, with a deepe channell and high banks cast vp on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safetie and commoditie of the merchants that came to Rome to traffick there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and seaw all the water of the marishes betwixt the cities of Nomentvm and Setivm, to make it firme land, for the benefite of many thousands of people : and on the sea coast next vnto Rome, to cast great high bankes, and to clense all the hauen about Ostia, of rockes and stones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harborough dangerous for ships, and to make new hauens and arsenals meete to harbour such ships, as did continually trafficke thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but tooke no effect. But the ordinance of the Kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the Romaines vsing then the auncient computation of the yeare, had not onely such incertaintie and alteration of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearely feasts came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained : but also in the reuolution of the Sunne (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account : and of the Romaines themselues, onely the priests vnderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man

being able to controule them) did thrust in a moneth aboue their ordinarie number, which they called in old time, Mercedonius.¹ Some say, that Numa Pompilius was the first that deuised this way, to put a moneth betweene: but it was a weake remedie, and did litle helpe the correction of the errours that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But Cæsar, committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the Romaines do vse vntill this present day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnesse, did not sticke to find fault withall. As Cicero the Orator, when one said, to morrow the starre Lyra will rise: Yea, said he, at the commandement of Cæsar, as if men were compelled so to say and think, by Cæsars edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called King: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignitie, gaue it out among the people that it was written in the Sybiline prophecies, how the Romaines might ouercome the Parthians, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that Cæsar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Cæsar also angrie, he said he was not called king, but Cæsar. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy and sorrow-

¹ Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.

full. When they had decreed diuers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors, accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting stil in his maiestie, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, answered them: that his honors had more neede to be cut off then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euery man that might lawfully go his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Cæsar rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his dublet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfit which haue this disease of the falling euill, when standing on their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their bodie, and a sodaine dimnesse and giddinesse. But that was not true: for he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, do you not remember you are Cæsar, and will you not let them reuerence you, and do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there folowed also his shame and reproch, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time, men say was the feast of shepherds or heard-men, and is much like vnto the feast of the Lycæians in Arcadia. But how-soeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sons,

yong men, (and some of them Magistrates themselves that gouerne then) which run naked through the citie, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them giue place. And many noble women and gentlewomen also, go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolemaister, to be stricken with the ferula: perswading themselves that being with child, they shall haue good deliuerie; and also being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child. Cæsar sate to behold that sport vpon the pulpit for orations, in a chair of gold, apparelled in triumphant maner. Antonius who was Consull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there rose a certaine crie of reioycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then Antonius offering it him againe, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it againe the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar hauing made this prooffe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chaire, and commanded the crowne to be caried vnto Iupiter in the Capitoll. After that, there were set vp images of Cæsar in the citie, with Diademes vpon their heads, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as King, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driuen the kings out

of Rome, and that brought the kingdome of one person, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withall, that he depriued Marullus and Flavius of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti, and Cumani, to wit, beasts, and fooles. Hereupon the people went straight vnto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother, of the house of the Serui-lians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and sonne in law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honors and fauour Cæsar shewed vnto him, kept him backe that of himselfe alone, he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdome. For Cæsar did not only saue his life, after the battell of Pharsalia when Pompey fled, and did at his request also saue many moe of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a maruellous confidence in him. For he had alreadie preferred him to that Prætorship for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Consull the fourth yeare after that, hauing through Cæsars friendship obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made sute for the same: and Cæsar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, Indeed Cassius hath alleaged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus. Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracie, Cæsar would not heare of it, but clapping his hand on his bodie, told them, Brutus wil looke for this skin: meaning therby, that Brutus for his vertue, deserued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he would not show him selfe vnthankfull or dishonorable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus onely their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durst not come to him themselues to tell him what they would haue him to do, but in the night did cast sundrie papers into

the Prætors seate where he gaue audience, and the most of them to this effect: Thou sleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed. Cassius finding Brutus ambition stirred vp the more by these seditious bills, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a priuate quarell he had conceiued against Cæsar: the circumstance whereof, we haue set downe more at large in Brutus life. Cæsar also had Cassius in great ielousie, and suspected him much: wherupon he said on a time to his friends, what will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks. Another time when Cæsars friends complained vnto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischiefe towards him: he answered them againe, as for those fat men and smooth combed heads, quoth he, I neuer reckon of them: but these pale visaged and carion leane people, I feare them most, meaning Brutus and Cassius. Certainly, destinie may easier be foreseene, then auoided: considering the strange and wonderfull signes that were said to be seene before Cæsars death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running vp and downe in the night, & also the solitarie birds to be seene at noon daies sitting in the great market place: are not all these signes perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chance as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher writeth, that diuers men were seene going vp and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slaue of the souldiers, that did cast a maruellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it, thought he had bene burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self also doing sacrifice vnto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could liue without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothsayer that had giuen Cæsar warning

long afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March (which is the fifteenth of the moneth), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going vnto the Senate house, and speaking merily vnto the soothsayer, told him, the Ides of March be come : So they be, softly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, Cæsar supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the boord : so talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best : he preuenting their opinions, cried out aloud, death vnlooked for. Then going to bed the same night as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doores of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light : but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches : for she dreamed that Cæsar was slaine, and that she had him in her armes. Others also do denie that she had any such dreame, as amongst other, Titus Liuius writeth, that it was in this sort : The Senate hauing set vpon the top of Cæsars house for an ornament, and setting forth of the same, a certaine pinnacle : Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken downe, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him if it were possible, not to go out of the doores that day, but to adorne the session of the Senate, vntill another day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would search further of the Soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did feare and suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia vntill that time, was neuer giuen to any feare or superstition : and that then he saw her so

troubled in mind with this dreame she had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothsayers hauing sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to send Antonius to adiorne the session of the Senate. But in the meane time came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracie with Cassius and Brutus: he fearing that if Cæsar did adiorne the session that day, the conspiracie would be betrayed, laughed at the Soothsayers, and reprobued Cæsar, saying: that he gaue the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, considering that by his commandement they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should weare his Diadem in all other places both by sea & land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should depart for that present time, and returne again when Calpurnia should haue better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers say, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perswade them otherwise, but that they would thinke his dominion a slauerie vnto them, and tyrannicall in himself? And yet if it be so, said he, that you vtterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go your selfe in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismisse them till another time. Therewithall he tooke Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Cæsar was not gone far from his house, but a bond-man, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him: and when he saw he was put back by the great prease and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put himself into

Calpurniaes hands to be kept, till Cæsar came backe againe, telling her that he had greater matters to impart vnto him. And one Artemidorus also borne in the Ile of Gnidos, a Doctor of Rhetoricke in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profession was very familiar with certaine of Brutus confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Cæsar: came and brought him a litle bill written with his owne hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He marking how Cæsar receiued all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gaue the straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: Cæsar, reade this memoriall to your selfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight, and touch you nearely. Cæsar tooke it of him, but could neuer reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himselfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gaue him that memoriall, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to giue it Cæsar, but he was alwayes repulsed by the people. For these things they may seeme to come by chance: but the place where the murther was prepared, & where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood vp an image of Pompey dedicated by himselfe amongst other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater: all these were manifest proofes that it was the ordinance of some god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did fauour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterprise, he did softly call vpon it, to aide him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former

reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides himselfe. Now Antonius, that was a faithfull friend to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate house, hauing begunne a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar comming into the house, all the Senate stood vp on their feete to do him honour. Then part of Brutus companie and confederates stood round about Cæsars chaire, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made sute with Metullus Cimber, to call home his brother againe from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their sute, they followed Cæsar, till he was set in his chaire. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed vpon him, and were the earnestest with him: Metellus at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the signe giuen the confederates to set vpon him. Then Casca behind him strake him in the necke with his sword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, because it seemed the feare of such a diuelish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar turning straight vnto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard, and they both cried out: Cæsar in latin, O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou? And Casca in Greek to his brother, Brother, help me. At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracie, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to flie, neither to help him, nor so much as once to make an outcrie. They on the other side that had conspired his death, cōpassed him in on euery side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Cæsar turned him no where, but he was stricken at by some, and still

had naked swords in his face, and was hacked & mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them that euery man should giue him a wound, because al their parts should be in this murther : and then Brutus himself gaue him one wound about his priuities. Men report also, that Cæsar did stil defend himself against the rest, running euery way with his bodie : but whē he saw Brutus with his sword drawne in his hand, then he pulled his gowne ouer his head, and made no more resistance, and was driuen either casually or purposely, by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompeys image stood, which ran all of a goare bloud till he was slaine. Thus it seemed that the image tooke iust revenge of Pompeys enemie, being throwne down on the ground at his feet, & yeelding vp his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twentie wounds vpon his bodie : and diuers of the conspirators did hurt themselues, striking one bodie with so many blowes. When Cæsar was slaine, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the midst amongst them, as though he would haue said something touching this fact) presently ranne out of the house, and flying, filled all the citie with maruellous feare and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut too their doores, others forsooke their shops and ware-houses, and others ranne to the place to see what the matter was : and others also that had seene it, ran home to their houses againe. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsars chieftest friends, secretly conueying themselues away, fled into other mens houses, and forsooke their owne. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, hauing their swords drawne in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men

that made countenance to flie, but otherwise, boldly holding vp their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their libertie, and staid to speake with euery great personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some folowed this troupe, and went amongst them, as if they had bene of the conspiracie, and falsly chalenged part of the honor with them: amongst them was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine couetousness of honor, by Antonius, and Octavius Cæsar the yonger: and yet had no part of that honor for the which they were both put to death, neither did any man beleue that they were any of the confederates or of counsel with them. For they that did put them to death, took reuenge rather of the wil they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus & his confederats came into the market place to speake vnto the people, who gaue thẽ such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reprovded, nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they shewed, that they were sory for Cæsars death, and also that they did reuerence Brutus. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was past, and to pacifie euery man, ordained besides, that Cæsars funerals should be honored as a god, & established all things that he had done: and gaue certaine provinces also, and conuenient honors vnto Brutus & his confederates, wherby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietnes again. But when they had opened Cæsars testament, & found a liberall legacie of mony bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, & that they saw his body (which was brought into the market place) al bemangled with gashes of swords: thẽ there was no order to keep the multitude & common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and stooles, and laid them

all about the body, and setting them afire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the fire-brands, and went vnto their houses that had slaine Cæsar, to set them afire. Other also ran vp and down the citie to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in peeces : howbeit they could meet with neuer a man of them, because they had locked theselues vp safely in their houses. There was one of Cæsars friends called Cinna, that had a maruellous strange & terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bad him to supper, and that he refused and would not go : then that Cæsar took him by the hand, & led him against his wil. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cæsars body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him besides : he went into the market place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other vnto another, so that it ranne straight through them all, that he was one of them that murthered Cæsar : (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar, was also called Cinna as himselfe) wherefore taking him for Cinna the murtherer, they fell vpon him with such furie, that they presently dispatched him in the market place. This stirre and furie made Brutus and Cassius more affraid, then of all that was past, and therefore within few daies after, they departed out of Rome : and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamitie they suffered till their deaths, we haue written at large in the life of Brutus. Cæsar died at sixe and fiftie yeares of age, and Pompey also liued not passing four yeares more then he. So he reaped no other fruite of his raigne and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreame danger : but a vaine name onely,

and a superficial glorie, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his countrey. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that fauoured him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracie of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to Cassius aboue all other, is most to be wondred at : for he being ouercome in battell at the iorney of Philippes, slue himselfe with the same sword, with which he strake Cæsar. Againe of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nights together was seene very bright after Cæsars death, the eighth night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnesse of the Sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gaue but small heate : therefore the ayre being very cloudie and darke, by the weaknesse of the heate that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe fruite, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the ghost that appeared vnto Brutus shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of Cæsar. The vision was thus : Brutus being readie to passe ouer his armie from the citie of Arydos, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his maner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires : (for by report he was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as little sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent doore, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnesse, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed

side, & said nothing ; at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him : I am thy ill Angell, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. Then Brutus replied againe, and said : Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time, Brutus being in battell neare vnto the citie of Philippes, against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first battell he wanne the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstood him, he draue them into yong Cæsars campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared againe vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereupon Brutus knowing that he should die, did put himselfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowne, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre off, and there setting his swords point to his breast, fell vpon it, and slue himselfe : but yet, as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that dispatched him.



2. *The Life of Marcus Brutus.*

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[*From North's "Plutarch."*]

MARCUS BRUTUS came of that Iunius Brutus, for whom the auncient Romaines made his statue of brasse to be set vp in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand: because he had valiantly put downe the Tarquines from their kingdome of Rome. But that Iunius Brutus being of a sower sterne nature, not softened by reason, being like vnto sword blades of too hard a temper: was so subiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrants, that for their sakes he caused his owne sonnes to be executed. But this Marcus Brutus in contrarie manner, whose life we presently write, hauing framed his life by the rules of vertue, and studie of Philosophie, and hauing employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: methinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracie against Iulius Cæsar: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracie, they referre it wholly vnto Brutus, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto Cassius, who was Brutus familiar friend, but not so well giuen, and conditioned as he. His mother Seruilia, it is thought, came of the bloud of

Seruilius Hala ; who, when Spurius Melius went about to make himselfe king, and to bring it to passe had entised the common people to rebell : tooke a dagger, and hid it close vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say vnto him, and pressed as neare him as he could : wherefore Melius stouping downe with his head, to heare what he would say, ~~Brutus~~ stabbed him in with his dagger and slue him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the euill will and malice they bare vnto Brutus, because of the death of Iulius Cæsar, do maintaine, that he came not of Iunius Brutus that draue out the Tarqvines : for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sons were executed for conspiracie with the Tarqvins : and that Marcus Brutus came of a meane house, the which was raised to honour and office in the commonwealth, but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrarie, that Iunius Brutus indeed slue two of his sonnes which were men growne, as the histories do declare : howbeit, that there was a third sonne, being but a litle child at that time, from whome the house and family afterwards was deriued : and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine famous men of that familie, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Iunius Brutus. And thus much for this matter. Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother vnto Seruilia, Marcus Brutus mother : whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romaines, because he was his vncke, and afterwards he married his daughter. Now touching the Grecian Philosophers, there was no sect or Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it : but aboue all the rest, he loued Platoes sect best, and did not much giue himselfe to the new or meane Academie (as they call it) but altogether to the old Academie.

Seruiliu

Therefore he did euer greatly esteeme the Philosopher Antiochus, of the citie of Ascalon: but he was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learning and knowledge was inferiour to many other Philosophers, but for wisdom and curtesie, equall with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom M. Brutus himselfe doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places: he was an Orator, & left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of Iulius Cæsar, & intituled it, Brutus. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it: beside that he could also plead very well in Latine. But for the Greeke tong, they do note in some of his Epistles, that he counterfeited that brieft compendious maner of speech of the Lacedæmonians. As when the war was begun, he wrote vnto the Pargamenians in this sort: I vnderstand you haue giuen Dolabella money: if you haue done it willingly, you confesse you haue offended me; if against your wils, shew it then by giuing me willingly. Another time againe vnto the Samians: Your counsels be long, your doings be slow, consider the end. And in another Epistle he wrote vnto the Patareians: The Xanthians despising my good wil, haue made a graue of dispaire; and the Patareians that put themselues into my protection, have lost no iot of their liberty: and therefore whilst you haue libertie, either chuse the iudgement of the Patareians, or the fortune of the Xanthians. These were Brutus maner of letters which were honored for their briefenesse. So Brutus being but a young stripling, went into Cyprvs with his Vncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolomy king of Ægypt, who hauing slaine himself, Cato staying for certain necessarie busines he had in the Ile of Rhodes, had already sent Caninius,¹ one of his

¹ Or *Canidius*.

friends before to keepe his treasure and goods. But Cato fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote vnto Brutus forthwith to come out of Pamphilia (where he was but newly recouered of a sicknesse) into Cyprvs, the which he did. The which iourney he was sory to take vpon him, both for respect of Caninius shame, whom Cato (as he thought) wrongfully slaundered : as also because he thought this office too meane and vnmeet for him, being a young man, and giuen to his booke. This notwithstanding, he behaved himselfe so honestly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him : and after all the goods were sold and conuerted into readie money, he tooke the most part of it, and returned withall to Rome. Afterwardes, when the Empire of Rome was deuided into factions, and that Cæsar and Pompey both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of Rome was in garboile and vprere : it was thought then that Brutus would take part with Cæsar, because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Brutus preferring the respect of his countrie and commonwealth before priuate affection, and perswading himselfe that Pompey had iuster cause to enter into armes, then Cæsar : he then tooke part with Pompey, though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thinking it a great sin and offence in him, to speake to the murtherer of his father. But then submitting himselfe vnto Pompey, as vnto the head of the commonwealth : he sailed into Sicilie, Lieutenant under Sestius that was Gouvernor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Cæsar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victorie : he went of himselfe vnsent for into Macedon, to be partaker of the danger. It is reported, that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his comming ; when he saw him come to him, he rose

out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vsed him as honorably, as he could haue done the noblest man that tooke his part. Brutus being in Pompeys campe, did nothing but studie all day long, except he were with Pompey, and not only the dayes before, but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of Pharsalia, where Pompey was ouerthrowne. It was in the middest of Sommer, and the Sunne was very hote, besides that the campe was lodged neare vnto marishes, and that they caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereupon being very wearie with trauell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morow after, he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long til night, writing a breuiarie of Polybius. It is reported that Cæsar did not forget him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight, and if he yeelded willingly vnto them, that then they should bring him vnto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, thē that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Seruiliaes sake, Brutus mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with Seruilia, who was extreemely in loue with him. And because Brutus was borne in that time when their loue was honest, he perswaded himselfe that he begate him. For prooffe hereof the report goeth, that when the waightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracie of Catiline, which was likely to haue vndone the citie of Rome, Cæsar and Cato sate neare together, and were both of contrarie minds to each other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered Cæsar a letter. Cæsar tooke it, and read it softly to himselfe: but Cato cryed out vpon Cæsar, and sayed he did not well to receiue

aduertisements from enemies : whereupon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then Cæsar gaue Cato the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a loue-letter sent from his sister Seruilia : therupon he cast it againe to Cæsar, and sayed vnto him, Hold, drunken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinions as he did before : so commonly was the loue of Seruilia knowne, which she bare vnto Cæsar. So, after Pompeys ouerthrowe at the battell of Pharsalia, and that he fled to the sea : when Cæsar came to besiege his campe, Brutus went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and leapt into a marish full of water and reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of Larissa : from whence he wrote vnto Cæsar, who was very glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come vnto him. When Brutus was come, he did not onely pardon him, but also kept him alwaies about him, and did as much honour and esteeme him, as any man he had in his companie. Nowe, no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were maruellous desirous to knowe it : wherefore Cæsar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did aske him which way he thought Pompey tooke. Cæsar perceiuing by his talke that Brutus guessed certainly whither Pompey should be fledde : he left all other wayes, and tooke his iourney directly towardses Ægypt. Pompey (as Brutus had coniectured) was indeede fled into Ægypt, but there he was villanously slaine. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Cæsar for Cassius : and defending also the King of Lybiaes¹ cause, he was ouerlayed with a world

¹ This king was Iuba : howbeit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarus king of Galatia : who was deprived notwithstanding of the most part of his country by Cæsar, and therefore this place were best to be vnderstanded, by Deiotarus. Cæsar made Brutus gouernor of Gaule on this side the mountaines,

of accusations against him; howbeit, intreating for him, he saued him the best part of his Realme and Kingdome. They say also, that Cæsar sayed, when he heard Brutus pleade: I knowe not (sayed he) what this young man would; but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as Brutus grautie and constant minde would not graunt all men their requestes that sued vnto him, but being mooued with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honest: euen so when it was mooued to followe any matter, he vsed a kind of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could neuer obtaine any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was uniuert. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimation, to yeeld vnto the requestes and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate suter, requesting things vnmeete: the which notwithstanding some men doe for shame, because they dare denie nothing, and there he was wont to say, That he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that could deny nothing. Nowe when Cæsar tooke sea to goe into Africke against Cato and Scipio, he left Brutus Gouvernour of Gavle in Italie on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that Prouince. For where others were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and covetousnesse of the Gouvernours, as if it had been a country conquered: Brutus was a comfort and rest vnto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly vnto Cæsars grace and goodnesse. For when Cæsar returned out of Africke, and progressed vp and downe Italie: the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities under Brutus charge and gouernment, and Brutus himselfe; who honoured Cæsar in person, and whose companie also Cæsar greatly esteemed. Now there were diuers sorts of Prætor-

ships at Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make sute for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called, The Prætorship of the citie: because he that had that office, was as a Iudge to minister iustice vnto the citizens. Therefore they stroue one against the other, though some say, that there was some litle grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out, though they were allyed together: for Cassius had married Iunia, Brutus sister. Others say, that this contention betwixt them came by Cæsar himselfe, who secretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauor. So their sute for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put another in sute of law, Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in armes, which Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Cæsar, after he had heard both their obiections, told his friend with whom he consulted about this matter: Cassius cause is the iuster (said he) but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorship, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Cæsar so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many other things tasted of the benefite of Cæsars fauour in any thing he requested. For if he had listed, he might haue bene one of Cæsars chiefest friends, and of greatest authoritie and credite about him. Howbeit, Cassius friends did disswade him from it (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Prætorship) & prayed him to be ware of Cæsars sweet entisements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the which they said Cæsar gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now Cæsar on the other side did not trust him ouermuch,

nor was without tales brought vnto him against him : howbeit he feared his great mind, authoritie and friends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good nature, and faire conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him : he answered, That these fat long haired men made him not affraid, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that by Brutus and Cassius. At an other time also when one accused Brutus vnto him, and bad him beware of him : What, (said he againe, clapping his hands on his breast) thinke ye that Brutus will not tarie till this bodie die? meaning that none but Brutus after him was meete to haue such power as he had. And surely, (in my opinion) I am perswaded that Brutus might indeed haue come to haue bene the chiefest man of Rome, if he could haue contented himselfe for a time to haue bene next vnto Cæsar, and to haue suffered his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But Cassius being a cholericke man, and hating Cæsar priuatly, more then he did the tyrannie openly ; he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus could euill away with the tyrannie, and that Cassius hated the tyrant : making many complaints for the iniuries he had done him ; and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lions from him. Cassius had provided them for his sports, when he should be *Ædilis*, and they were found in the citie of Megara, when it was wonne by Calenus, and Cæsar kept them. The rumor went, that these lions did maruellous great hurt to the Megarians : for when the city was taken, they brake their cages where they were tyed vp, & turned thẽ loose, thinking they wold haue done great mischiefe to the enemies, and haue kept them from setting vpon them : but the lions (contrarie to expectation) turned vpon themselues

that fled vnarmed, and did so cruelly teare some in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, (as some do report) that made Cassius conspire against Cæsar. But this holdeth no water: for Cassius euen from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went vnto the same schoole that Faustus, the son of Sylla, did. And Faustus bragging among other boyes, highly boasted of his fathers kingdom: Cassius rose vp on his feet, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. Faustus gouernors would haue put this matter in sute against Cassius: but Pompey would not suffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them, how the matter came to passe. Then Cassius (as it is written of him) said vnto the other: Go too Faustus, speake againe and thou darest, before this Nobleman here, the same words that made me angrie with thee, that my fistes may walke once againe about thine ears. Such was Cassius hote stirring nature. But for Brutus, his friends and countrimen, both by diuers procurements, and sundrie rumours of the citie, and by many bills also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For vnder the image of his auncestor Iunius Brutus, (that draue the kings out of Rome) they wrote: O, ~~that~~ it pleased the gods thou wert now aliue, Brutus! and againe, That thou wert here among us now! His tribunall or chaire, where he gaue audience during the time he was Praetor, was full of such billes: Brutus thou art asleepe, and art not Brutus indeed. And of all this, Cæsars flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily deuised for him, in the night time they did put Diademes vpon the heades of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, in steade of Dictator. Howbeit,

it turned to the contrarie, (as we haue written more at large in Iulius Cæsars life.) Now when Cassius felt his friends, and did stirre them vp against Cæsar: they all agreed and promised to take part with him, so Brutus were the chiefe of their conspiracie. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their swords: as it stood the vpon to haue a man of such estimation as Brutus, to make euery man boldly thinke, that by his onely presence the fact were holy and iust. If he tooke not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts, and when they had done it they should be more fearefull: because euery man would thinke that Brutus would not haue refused to haue made one with them, if the cause had bene good and honest. Therefore Cassius considering this matter with himselfe, did first of all speake to Brutus, since they grew straunge together for the sute they had for the Prætorship. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had embraced one another; Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house, the first day of the moneth of March, because he heard say that Cæsars friendes should moue the councell that day, that Cæsar should be called King by the Senate. Brutus answered him, he wold not be there. But if we be sent for (sayed Cassius) how then? For my selfe then (sayed Brutus) I meane not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather die then lose my libertie. Cassius being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why, (quoth he) what Romaine is he aliue that will suffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be coblers, tapsters, or such like base mechanicall people, that write these billes and scrolles which are found daily in thy Prætors chaire, and not the noblest

men and best citizens that do it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common distributions amongst the people, & for common playes, and to see fencers fight at the sharp, to shew the people pastime: but at thy hands, they specially require (as a due debt vnto them) the taking away of the tyrannie, being fully bent to suffer any extremitie for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kissed Brutus and embraced him: and so each taking leaue of other, they went both to speake with their friends about it. Now amongst Pompeys friends, there was one called Caius Ligarius,¹ who had bene accused vnto Cæsar for taking part with Pompey; and Cæsar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him, for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his heart he was alway his mortall enemie, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sicke in his bed, and sayed vnto him: Ligarius, in what a time art thou sicke? Ligarius rising vp in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said vnto him: Brutus (said he) if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthie of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and layed their heads together consulting vpon it, and did not onely picke out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not affraid to lose their liues. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracie, although he was a man whom they loued dearely, and trusted best: for they were affraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also hauing in-

¹ In another place they call him Quintus.

creased his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpose, and quench the heate of their enterprise the which specially required hote and earnest execution, seeking by perswasion to bring all things to such safetie, as there should be no perill. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicvrian, and Faonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato: because that hauing cast out words a farre off, disputing together in Philosophie to feele their minds: Faonius answered, That ciuill war was worse than tyrannicall gouernment vsurped against the law. And Statilius told him also, That it were an vnwise part of him, to put his life in daunger, for a sight of ignorant fooles and asses. Labeo was present at this talke, and maintained the contrarie against them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to haue bene decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made Labeo priuie to his intent; who very readily offered himselfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to ioine with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his handes himselfe, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaues, and fencers at the sharpe, whom he kept to shew the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that Cæsar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no aunswer. But when he had spoken with Brutus himselfe alone, and that Brutus told him he was the chiefe ring-leader of all this conspiracie: then he willingly promised him the best aide he could. Furthermore, the onely name and great calling of Brutus, did bring on the most of them to giue consent to this conspiracie: who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or giuen any caution or assurance, nor binding themselues one to another by any religious othes: they all kept the

matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding, the gods did reueale it by manifest signes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of sacrifices: yet all this would not be beleueed. Now Brutus, who knewe very well, that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most couragious men of Rome did venture their liues, weighing with himselfe the greatnesse of the daunger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and lookes, that no man could discerne he had any thing to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was not in his owne house, then he was clean chaunged: for, either care did wake him against his will when he would haue slept, or else oftentimes of himselfe he fell into such deepe thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, found that there was some maruellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himselfe. His wife Porcia (as we haue told you before) was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin, not a mayden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, by whome she had also a young sonne called Bibulus, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and gestes of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young Ladie being excellently well seene in Philosophie, louing her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not aske her husband what he ayled before she made some prooffe by her selfe: she took a little razour such as Barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and causing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber, gaue her selfe a great gash withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a goare bloud: and incontinently after, a vehement feauer tooke her, by reason of the paine of her

wound. Then perceiuing that her husband was maruellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest: euen in her greatest paine of all, she spake in this sort vnto him: I being, ô Brutus, (said she) the daughter of Cato, was married vnto thee, not to be thy bed-fellowe and companion in bedde and at boord onely, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and euill fortune. Now for thy selfe, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I shew my dutie towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly beare a secret mischaunce or griefe with thee, which requireth secrecie and fidelitie. I confesse, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely: but yet (Brutus) good education and the companie of vertuous men, haue some power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my selfe, I haue this benefite moreouer, that I am the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. 'This notwithstanding; I did not trust to any of these things before: vntil that now I have found by experience, that no paine or griefe whatsoeuer can ouercome me. With those wordes she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to proue her selfe. Brutus was amazed what she sayed vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he besought the goddes to giue him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be found a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Nowe, a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Cæsar would not fail to come: the conspiratours determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meete safely at that time without suspition, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chieftest men of the citie would be there: who when they should see such a great matter

executed, would euery man then set too their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the councell should be kept, was chosen of purpose by diuine Providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set vp the image of Pompey, which the citie had made and consecrated in honour of him: when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with diuerse porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, iust on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the Romaines call, Idus Martias: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought Cæsar thither to be slaine, for reuenge of Pompeys death. So when the day was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side vnder his long gowne, that no bodie saw nor knew, but his wife onely. The other conspiratours were all assembled at Cassius house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis, and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto Pompeys porch, looking that Cæsar would straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull assured constancie of these conspirators, in so daungerous and waightie an enterprise as they had vndertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their office, whose dutie is to minister iustice to euery bodie: they did not onely with great quietnesse and courtesie heare them that spake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiu care, as if they had no other matter in their heads: but moreouer, they gaue iust sentence, and carefully dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of money,

refused to pay it, and cryed out, that he did appeale vnto Cæsar. Then Brutus casting his eyes vpon the conspiratours, said : Cæsar shall not let me to see the lawe executed. Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest, was Cæsars long tarying, who came very late to the Senate : for, because the signes of the sacrifices appeared vnluckie, his wife Calphurnia kept him at home, and the Soothsayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came vnto Casca being a conspiratour, and taking him by the hand, said vnto him : O Casca, thou keptest it close from me, but Brutus hath told me all. Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and sayd : Why, how now, how commeth it to passe thou art thus rich, that thou doest sue to be *Ædilis* ? Thus Casca being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. Another Senatour called Popilius Læna, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly then he was wont to do : he rounded softly in their eares, and told them : I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you haue taken in hand ; but withall, dispatch I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had sayed, he presently departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conspiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of Brutus men post hast vnto him, and told him his wife was a dying. For Porcia being very carefull and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward grieve of mind : she could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with euery litle noyse and crye she heard, as those that are taken and possest with the furie of the *Bacchantes*, asking euery man that came from the market place, what Brutus

did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what newes. At length Cæsars comming being prolonged, (as you haue heard) Porciaes weakenesse was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she sodainely swounded, that she had no leysure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middest of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed in her bed, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these newes, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his countrie and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that Cæsar was comming in his Litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was affrayed of the vnluckie signes of the sacrifices) but to adiourne matters of importance vnto the next Session and Councell holden, fayning himselfe not to be well at ease. When Cæsar came out of his Litter, Popilius Læna (that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterprise to passe) went vnto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talke. Cæsar gaue good care vnto him. Whereupon the conspiratours (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cæsar, but coniecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the very discouerie of their conspiracie: they were affrayed euery man of them, and one looking in anothers face, it was easie to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselues with their owne handes. And when Cassius and certaine other clapped their hands on their swordes vnder their gownes to drawe them; Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Læna, and considering that he did vse himselfe rather like

an humble and earnest suter, then like an accuser : he sayed nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracie) but with a pleasaunt countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after, Læna went from Cæsar, and kissed his hand : which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himselfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Now all the Senators being entred first into this place or chapter house where the councell should be kept, all the other conspiratours straight stood about Cæsars chaire, as if they had had something to say vnto him. And some say, that Cassius casting his eyes vpon Pompeys image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. Trebonius¹ on the other side, drew Antonius aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sate, and held him with a long talke without. When Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his comming in. So when he was set, the conspiratours flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one Tullius Cimber,² who made sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessours for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kissed his heade and breast. Cæsar at the first, simply refused their kindnesse and intreaties : but afterwards, perceiuing they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsars gowne ouer his shoulders, and Casca that stood behind him, drew his dagger first, & strake Cæsar vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. Cæsar feeling himselfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hand he held

¹ In Cæsars life it is sayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.

² In Cæsars life he is called Metellus Cimber.

his dagger in, & cryed out in Latin : O traitor Casca, what dost thou? Casca on the other side cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vpon Cæsar, he looking about him to haue fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawne in his hand ready to strike at him : then he let Cascaes hand goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered euery man to strike at him that wold. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon another, because euery man was desirous to haue a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting vpon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were euery man of them bloudied. Cæsar being slaine in this maner, Brutus standing in the midst of the house, would haue spoken, and stayed the other Senatours that were not of the conspiracie, to haue told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one vpon anothers necke in hast to get out at the doore, and no man followed them. For it was set downe, and agreed betwene them, that they should kill no man but Cæsar onely, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspiratours, but Brutus, determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauoured tyrannie : besides also, for that he was in great estimation with the souldiers, hauing bene conversant of long time amongst them : and specially hauing a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consull with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest : secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that Antonius being a noble minded and coura-

gious man (when he should know that Cæsar was dead) would willingly help his countrey to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their courage and vertue. So Brutus by this meanes saued Antonius life, who at that present time disguised himself, and stale away: but Brutus and his consorts, hauing their swords bloudie in their hands, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the Romaines as they went, to take their libertie againe. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ranne vp and downe the citie, the which indeed did the more increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, neither did spoile or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, and many of the people imboldening themselues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being assembled together one after another, Brutus made an oration vnto them to win the fauour of the people, and to iustifie that they had done. Al those that were by, said they had done well, and cried vnto them, that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll: whereupon Brutus and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in troupe, but Brutus went formost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the market place, to the pulpit for oratiōs. Whē the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stirre: yet being ashamed to do it, for the reuerence they bare vnto Brutus, they kept silence to heare what he would say. Whē Brutus began to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediately after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would haue

spoken, and beganne to accuse Cæsar: they fell into a great vprore amongst them, and maruelously reuiled him. Insomuch that the conspira-tours returned againe into the Capitoll. There Brutus being affrayed to be besieged, sent backe againe the Noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason, that they which were no par-takers of the murther, should be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddesse Tellus, to wit, the Earth: and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to stablish friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not only be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honours should be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and Antonius the Consull, to put them in heart that were in the Capi-toll, sent them his sonne for a pledge. Vpon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where euery man saluted and embraced each other, among the which, Antonius himselte did bid Cassius to supper to him: and Lepidus also bad Brutus, and so one bad another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to councell, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they also gaue Brutus and his consorts great prayses, and lastly they appointed them seuerall gouernments of prouinces. For vnto Brutus, they appointed Creta; Africke vnto Cassius; Asia vnto Trebonius: Bithynia, vnto Cimber; and vnto the other Detius Brutus Albinus, Gavle on this side the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke

of Cæsars will and testament, and of his funerals and tombe. Then Antonius thinking good his testament should be read openly, and also that his bodie should be honorably buried, and not in hugger mugger, lest the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise : Cassius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed vnto it: wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did, was when he would not consent to his fellow conspirators, that Antonius should be slaine : and therefore he was iustly accused, that thereby he had saued and strengthened a strong and grieuous enemy of their conspiracie. The second fault was, when he agreed that Cæsars funerals should be as Antonius would haue them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Cæsars testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of Rome, 75. Drachmes a man ; and that he left his gardens & arbors vnto the people, which he had on this side of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built : the people then loued him, & were marvellous sorie for him. Afterwards, when Cæsars body was brought into the market place, Antonius making his funeral Oration in praise of the dead according to the auncient custome of Rome, and perceiving that his words moued the common people to compassion : he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking Cæsars gowne all bloody in his hand, he layed it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell presently into such a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cryed out, Kill the murtherers : others plucked vp formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius,

and hauing laid them all on a heape together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Cæsar, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, some here, some there, tooke burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers houses that killed him, to set them a fire. Howbeit, the conspiratours foreseeing the daunger before, had wisely prouided for themselues, and fledde. But there was a Poet called Cinna, who had bene no partaker of the conspiracie, but was alway one of Cæsars chieffest friends : he dreamed the night before, that Cæsar bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to go, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruellously affrayed, he was driuen to follow him in spite of his heart. This dreame put him all night into a feauer, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard they carried Cæsars bodie to buriall, being ashamed not to accompanie his funerals : he went out of his house, and thrust himselfe into the prease of the common people that were in a great vp-
pore. And because some one called him by his name, Cinna ; the people thinking he had bene that Cinna, who in an oration he made, had spoken very euill of Cæsar ; they falling vpon him in their rage, slue him outright in the market place. This made Brutus and his companions more affraid then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the city of Antivm, hoping to retorne againe to Rome, when the furie of the people was a litle asswaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconstant multitude, easie to be caried, and that the Senate stood for them : who notwithstanding made no en-
quirie of them that had torne poore Cinna the Poet

in peeces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended, that went with firebrands to set fire of the conspiratours houses. The people growing wearie now of Antonius pride and insolencie, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that Brutus might returne againe, and it was also looked for, that Brutus would come himselfe in person to play the playes that were due to the people, by reason of his office of Prætorship. But Brutus, vnderstanding that many of Cæsars souldiers which serued under him in the warres, and that also had lands and houses giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in waite for him to kill him, and that they daily by small companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durst no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuously set foorth and furnished with all things necessarie, sparing for no cost. For he had brought a great number of straunge beastes, of the which he would not giue one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himselfe as farre as Byzantium, to speak to some players of comedies and musitians that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that whatsoever they did, they should intreat him to play in these playes. For (said he) it is no reason to compell any Grecian, vnlesse he will come of his owne goodwill. Moreouer, he wrote also vnto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these playes. Now the state of Rome standing in these tearmes, there fell out another chaunge and alteration, when the young man Octavius Cæsar came to Rome. He was the sonne of Iulius Cæsars neece, whom he had adopted for his son, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when Iulius Cæsar his adopted father was slain, he

was in the city of Apollonia (where he studied) tarying for him, because he was determined to make war with the Parthians: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to Rome, where to begin to currie fauour with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers souldiers together, that had serued in the wars with him. And Cicero himself, for the great malice he bare Antonius, did fauour his proceedings: but Brutus maruellously reprobued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorie to haue a maister, but only to be afraid to haue one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witnesse, that he chose to be subiect to a mild and curteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man Octavius Cæsar, to be a good and gentle Lord. For our predecessors (said he) would neuer abide to be subiect to any Maisters, how gentle or mild soeuer they were: and for his owne part, that he had neuer resolutely determined with himselfe to make war, or peace; but otherwise, that he was certainly minded neuer to be slaue nor subiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of ciuill wars, and would not be affraid of a shamefull peace: and that to thrust Antonius out of the vsurped tyrannie, in recompence he went about to stablish yong Octavius Cæsar tyrant. These were the contents of Brutus first letters he wrote vnto Cicero. Now the citie of Rome being deuided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, other also leaning vnto Octavius Cæsar, and the souldiers making port sale of their seruice to him that would giue most: Brutus seeing the state of Rome would

be utterly ouerthrowne, he determined to goe out of Italie, and went a foote through the countrey of Lyke, vnto the citie of Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia being readie to depart from her husband Brutus, and to returne to Rome, did what he could to dissemble the griefe and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certaine painted table bewrayed her in the end, although vntill that time she shewed alwaies a constant and patient mind. The deuise of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, how Andromachè accompanied her husband Hector, when he went out of the citie of Troy to go to the warres, and how Hector deliuered her his litle sonne, and how her eyes were neuer off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case, she fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acilius one of Brutus friends perceiuing that, rehearsed the verses Andromache speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

*Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my
brother,
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other.*

Then Brutus smiling, answered againe: But yet (said he) I cannot for my part say vnto Porcia, as Hector answered Andromachè in the same place of the Poet:

*Tush, meddle thou weighing duly out
Thy maydes their taske, and pricking on a clout,*

For indeed the weake constitution of her bodie, doth not suffer her to performe in shewe, the valiant actes that we are able to do: but for courage and constant mind, she shewed her selfe as stout in the defence of her countrey, as any of vs. Bibulus the sonne of Porcia, reporteth this storie thus. Now Brutus embarking at Elea in Lyke, he sayled directly towards

Athens. When he arriued there, the people of Athens receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to heare the Lectures of Theomnestus the Academick Philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripateticke, and so would talke with them in Philosophie, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gaue himselfe only vnto studie: howbeit, secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for warre. For he sent Herostratus into Macedon, to win the Captaines and souldiers that were vpon those marches, and he did also entertaine all the young Gentlemen of the Romaines, whom he found in Athens studying Philosophie: amongst them he found Ciceroes son, whom he highly praised and commended, saying: That whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertised that there came out of Asia a certain fleet of Romaine shippes that had good store of money in them, and that the Captaine of those shippes (who was an honest man, & his familiar friend) came towards Athens: he went to meete him as far as the Ile of Carystos, and hauing spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leaue his ships in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birth day. When the feast day came, and that they began to drinke lustily one to another; the guestes dranke to the victorie of Brutus, and the libertie of the Romaines. Brutus therfore to encourage them further, called for a bigger cup, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake this aloud:

*My destinie and Phœbus are agreed,
To bring me to my finall end with speed.*

And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that the same day he fought his last battell by the citie of Philippes, as he came out of his tent, he gaue him for the word and signall of battell, Phœbus : so that it was thought euer since, that this his sodaine crying out at the feast, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gaue him of the money he caried into Italie, fiftie Myriades. Furthermore, all Pompeys souldiers that straggled vp and downe Thessaly, came with very good wil vnto him. He tooke from Cinna also, fūe hundred horsemen, which he caried into Asia, vnto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea vnto the citie of Demetriade, and there tooke a great^e deale of armour and munition which was going to Antonius : and the which had bene made and forged there by Iulius Cæsars commaundement, for the wars against the Parthians. Furthermore, Hortensius Gouvernor of Macedon, did resigne the gouvernement thereof vnto him. Besides, all the Princes, Kings and Noblemen thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him, that Caius (Antonius brother) comming out of Italie, had passed the sea, and came with great speed towards the citie of Dyrrachium, and Apollonia, to get the souldiers into his hands, which Cabinius had there. Brutus therefore to preuent him, went presently with a fewe of his men in the midst of winter when it sneue hard, and tooke his way through hard and foule countries, and made such speede indeede, that he was there long before Antonius sumpters, that caried the victuals. So that when he came neare vnto Dyrrachium, a disease tooke him which the Phisitians call *Βουλιμία*, to say, A cormorant and vnsatiable appetite to eate : by reason of the cold and paines he had taken. This sicknesse chaunceth often, both to men and beastes, that trauell when it hath snowen : either because the naturall heate being retired into the

inward partes of the bodie, by the coldnesse of the aire hardening the skinne, doth straight digest and consume the meate: or else because a sharpe subtil wind coming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the bodie, and driueth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the bodie: causeth the sweates that follow the disease. But hereof we haue spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faint, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his souldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vse the citizens thereof courteously, but all the inhabitants of the citie also for their sakes. Now when Caius Antonius was arrived in the citie of Apollonia, he sent vnto the souldiers thereabouts to come vnto him. But when he vnderstoode that they went all to Brutus: and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did fauour him much: he then forsooke that citie, and went vnto the citie Bvthrotvs, but yet he lost three of his ensignes by the way, that were slaine euery man of them. Then he sought by force to winne certaine places of strength about Byllis, and to driue Brutus men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtaine his purpose, he fought a battell with Cicero, the sonne of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was ouercome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a Captaine, and did many notable exploits by his seruice. Shortly after, hauing stolen vpon Caius Antonius in certaine marrishes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not set on

him with furie, but only rode round about him, commaunding his souldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his owne without stroke striking : and so indeed it happened : for they yeelded themselves and their Captaine Antonius, vnto Brutus ; so that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and neuer took frō him the markes and signes of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he saw Antonius secretly practised with his Captaines to make some alteration : then he sent him into a ship, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whom Caius Antonius had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of Apollonia, and sent from thence vnto Brutus to come vnto them : he made them answer, That it was not the manner of Romaine Captaines to come to the souldiers, but the souldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to goe into Asia, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at Rome : for Octavius Cæsar was in armes, by commaundement and authoritie from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driuen Antonius out of Italie, the Senate then began to be affraid of him, because he sued to be Consull, which was contrarie to the lawe, and kept a great armie about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other side, Octavius Cæsar perceiuing the Senate stayed not there, but turned vnto Brutus that was out of Italie, and that they appointed him the gouernment of certaine Provinces : then he began to be affraid for his part, and sent vnto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his army neare to Rome, he made himselfe to be chosen Consull, whether the Senate

would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springall of twentie yeares old, as himselfe reporteth in his owne Commentaries. So when he was Consull, he presently appointed Iudges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefest Magistrate, without lawe or iudgement: and made L. Cornificus accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa Cassius. So the parties accused were condemned, because the Iudges were compelled to giue such sentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the custome after sentence giuen) went vp to the chaire or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed Brutus with a loude voyce, summoning him to appeare in person before the Iudges: the people that stooode by sighed openly, and the Noblemen that were present hung downe their heads, and durst not speake a word. Among them the teares fell from Publius Silicius eyes: who shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlawes appointed to be slaine. After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement betweene themselues, and by those articles deuided the Provinces belonging to the Empire of Rome among themselues, and did set vp billes of proscription and outlawrie, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, & among that number, Cicero was one. Newes being brought thereof into Macedon: Brutus being then inforced to it, wrote vnto Hortensius, that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be reuenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be slaine vpon his brothers tombe. But when Brutus said, that he was more ashamed of the cause of the which Cicero was slaine, then he was otherwise sorie for his death:

and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were slaues more through their owne fault, then through their valiantnesse or manhood which vsurped the tyrannie: considering that they were so cowardly and faint hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely haue grieued them to the heart. Now when Brutus had passed ouer his armie (that was verie great) into Asia, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the citie of Cyzicvm, because he would haue an armie by sea: and himselfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience to Princes and noble men of the countrey that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent vnto Cassius in Syria, to turne him from his iourney into Ægypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdome for themselves, that they wandred vp and downe in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their countrey againe to their liberty: and that the multitude of souldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the tyrants that would keepe them in slauerie and subiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intent, they should not be farre from Italie, as neare as they could possible, but should rather make all the hast they could, to helpe their countriemen. Cassius beleueed him, and returned. Brutus went to meete him, and they both met at the citie of Smyrna, which was the first time that they saw together since they tooke leaue each of other, at the hauen of Piræa in Athens: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macèdon. So they were maruellous ioyfull, and no lesse couragious, when they saw the great armies together which they had both leauied: considering that they departed out of Italie, like naked and poore banished men, without armour and money, nor hauing

anie ship readie, nor souldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, hauing ships, money and souldiers enough, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now Cassius would haue done Brutus as much honour, as Brutus did vnto him: but Brutus most commonly preuented him, and went first vnto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwise maruellous chollericke and cruell, who sought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would iest too broadly with them. But Brutus in contrary maner, for his vertue and valiantnesse, was wel-beloued of the people and his owne, esteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a maruellous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleasure and couetousnesse, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wrong or iniustice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, & of the goodwill that euery man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleue, that if Pompey himselfe had ouercome Cæsar, he would haue resigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keepe the soueraigntie and absolute gouernement in his hands, taking onely, to please the people, the title of Consul, or Dictator, or of some other more ciuill office. And as for Cassius, a hote, chollericke and cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from iustice for gaine: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put himselfe into sundrie dangers, more to haue absolute power and authority, then to defend the

liberty of his countrey. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as Cinna, Marius, and Carbo: it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their victorie, was to be Lords of their countrey: and in manner they did all confesse, that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themselues did neuer reprove Brutus for any such change or desire. For, it was sayd that Antonius spake it openly diuerse times that he thought, that of all them that had slaine Cæsar, there was none but Brutus onely that was moued to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it selfe: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some priuate malice or enuie, that they otherwise did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his armie, as he did to his owne vertue: as it is to be seene by his writings. For approching neare to the instant danger, he wrote vnto Pomponius Atticus, that his affaires had the best hap that could be. For, sayd he, either I will set my country at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine and assured of all things else, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should liue or dye with liberty. He wrote also that Antonius had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might haue bin a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and haue made one with them: he liked better to chuse to be ioyned with Octavius Cæsar alone: with whō, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet shal he shortly after also haue war with him. And truly he proued a true Prophet, for so came it indeed to passe. Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the city of Smerna: Brutus prayed Cassius to let him haue some part of his money whereof he had great store, because all that

he could rap and rend of his side he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commandement. Cassius friends hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should haue the money which Cassius hath gotten together by sparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their subiects, for him to bestow liberally vpon his souldiers, and by this meanes to win their goodwils, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gaue him the third part of this totall summe. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius tooke the city of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly vsed himselfe: although when he came into the city, he answered some of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he only that had slaine him, that would haue bene Lord and King. Brutus departing from thence, sent vnto the Lycians to require money, and men of war. But there was a certaine Orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebell against him, insomuch that the countrimen of that countrey kept the straights and litle mountaines, thinking by that means to stop Brutus passage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stale vppon them as they were at dinner, and slue sixe hundred of them: and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he tooke, go without payment of ransome, hoping by this his great courtesie to win them, to draw all the rest of the countrey vnto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutine for euery small hurt they received as they passed by their countrey, and did despise his curtesie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to besiege the city of the Xanthians, within the which were shut vp the cruellest and most

warlike men of Lycia. There was a riuer that ranne by the wals of the city, in the which many men saued themselves, swimming betweene two waters, and fled : howbeit they layd nets ouerthwart the riuer, and tied litle bells on the top of them, to sound when any man was taken in the nets. The Xanthians made a sally out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of battery that beate downe their wals : but they were presently driuen in againe by the Romaines, so soone as they were discouered. The wind by chance was maruellous bigge, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the city, that the next houses vnto them were straight set on fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus being afraid that all the city would take on fire, he presently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to saue the towne if it might be. But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frensie, and straunge and horrible despaire, that no man can well expresse it : and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it, then to a franticke and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their wiues and children, maisters and seruants, and of all sorts of age whatsoever, fought vpon the ramper of their wals, and did cast downe stones and fire-workes on the Romaines, which were very busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to saue the citie. And in contrary manner also, they brought faggots, drie wood, and reeds, to bring the fire further into the citie as much as might be, increasing it by such things as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all parts of the city, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place : Brutus being sorie to see it, got vpon his horse, and rode round about the wals of the citie, to see if it were possible to saue it, and held vp his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citie, and to saue themselues. Howbeit they would not be

perswaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselues away, not only men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast themselues into the fire: others headlong throwing themselues downe from the wals, brake their neckes: others also made their neckes bare, to the naked swords of their fathers, and vndid their cloaths, praying them to kill them with their owne hands. After the citie was burnt, they found a woman hanged vp by the necke, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged vp also: and in the other hand a burning torch setting fire on her house. Some would haue had Brutus to haue seene her, but he would not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused a Herauld to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that could saue a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftie of them saued, and yet they were saued against their wils. Thus the Xanthians hauing ended the resolution of their fatall destiny, after a long continuance of time: they did through their desperation, renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the Persians, did burne their citie, and destroyed themselues. Therefore Brutus likewise besieging the citie of the Patareians, perceiuing that they stoutly resisted him: he was also afraid of that, and could not well tell whether he should giue assault to it, or not, lest they would fall into the despaire and desperation of the Xanthians. Howbeit hauing taken certain of their women prisoners, he sent them back againe, without payment of ransome. Now that they were the wiues and daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had found Brutus a

mercifull, iust, and courteous man: they perswaded them to yeeld themselues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themselues, diuerse other cities also followed them, and did the like: and found Brutus more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should haue done, but specially farre aboue Cassius. For Cassius, about the selfe same time, after he had compelled the Rhodians euerie man to deliuer all the readie money they had in gold and siluer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eight thousand talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to pay the summe of fise hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrarie manner, after he had leuied of all the country of Lycia but a hundred and fiftie talents onely: he departed thence into the countrie of Ionia, and did them no more hurt. Now Brutus in all this iourney, did many notable actes and worthie of memorie, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserued it: wherefore among the rest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himselfe, and all the Noblemen of the Romaines, were maruellous glad. When Pompey the Great (hauing lost the battell against Iulius Cæsar, in the fields of Pharsalia) came and fell vpon the coast of Ægypt, hard by the citie of Pelvsivm: those that were protectours to the young king Ptolomie, being then but a child, sate in councell with his seruants and friendes, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mind in this consultation: for some thought it good to receiue Pompey; others also, that they should driue him out of Ægypt. But there was a certaine Rethoritian called Theodotus, that was borne in the Isle of Chio, who was the kings schoolemaister to teach him Rethoricke. He being called to this councell for lacke of sufficient men, said, That both the one and the other side went

awrie, aswell those that were of opinion to receiue Pompey, as the other that would haue had him driuen away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him; adding withall this sentence, That a dead man biteth not. The whole councell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto Pompey: Pompey the Great was slaine, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himselfe boast of it. But when Iulius Cæsar came afterwards into Ægypt, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they dyed euery man a wicked death, sauing this Theodotus, whome fortune respighted a litle while longer, and yet in that time he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer tarying long in any one place. So Brutus going vp and downe Asia, Theodotus could hide himselfe no longer, but was brought vnto Brutus, where he suffered paines of death: so that he wanne more fame by his death, then euer he did in his life. About that time, Brutus sent to pray Cassius to come to the citie of Sardis, and so he did. Brutus understanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Now (as it commonly happeneth in great affaires betweene two persons, both of them hauing many friendes, and so many Captaines vnder them): there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoid and did shut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the

chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry betweene themselves, they were both amazed and afraid also, lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding one Mar-Phaonius, that had bene a friend and follower of Cato while he liued, & tooke vpon him to counterfeit a Philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let Phaonius, when a madde mood or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hote hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vsed this bold maner of speech after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers (as who would say, Dogs) yet this boldnesse did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the doore-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor sayd in Homer:

*My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I haue seene moe yeares then suchie three.*

Cassius fell a laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dogge, and counterfeit Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The selfe same night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friends with him. So when they were set at supper, Phaonius came to sit downe after he had washed. Brutus told him aloud, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the vpper end: meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. Phaonius made no ceremony, but thrust in

amongst the middest of them, and made all the company laugh at him: So they were merry all supper time, and full of their Philosophie. The next day after, Brutus, vpon complaint of the Sardians, did condemne and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had bene a Prætor of the Romaines, and whom Brutus had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accused and conuicted of robbery, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much misliked Cassius: because he himselfe had secretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of seruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reprovved Brutus, for that he would shew himselfe so straight and seuer in such a time, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrarie manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slue Iulius Cæsar: who neither piled nor polled the countrey, but onely was a fauourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoile, by his countenance & authoritie. And if there were any occasion wherby they might honestly set aside iustice and equitie: they should haue had more reason to haue suffered Cæsars friends, to have robbed and done what wrong and iniurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then sayd he, they could but haue sayd they had bene cowards: and now they may accuse vs of iniustice, beside the paines we take, and the danger we put our selues into. And thus may we see what Brutus intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe ouer againe, out of Asia into Europe: there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderfull signe vnto him. Brutus was a carefull man, and slept very litle, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually

occupied. He neuer slept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then the time he was driuen to be alone, and when euery body else tooke their rest. But now whilst he was in warre, and his head euer busily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his waightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would reade some booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Captaines, petty Captaines and Colonels, did vse to come to him. So, being ready to go into Evrope, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waightie matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstrous shape of a bodie comming towards him, and sayd neuer a word. So Brutus boldly asked him what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy euill spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied againe vnto it: Well, then I shall see thee againe. The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men vnto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw any thing at all. Thereupon Brutus returned againe to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went vnto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared vnto him in the night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicurian, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our sect, Brutus, we haue an opinion, that we do not alwayes feelee, or see, that which we suppose we doth both see & feelee: but that our senses being credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their

owne objects) are induced to imagine they see and coniecture that, which they in truth do not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the mind to the potter : who without any other cause then his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what fashion and forme he will. And this doth the diuersitie of our dreames shew vnto vs. For our imagination doth vpon a small fancie grow from concept to concept, altering both in passions and formes of things imagined. For the mind of man is euer occupied, and that continuall mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholicke discoursing, and of late continually occupied ; your wits and senses hauing bene ouer-laboured, do easier yeeld to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels, and that if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs : it is a mockerie. And for mine owne part, I would there were such, because that we should not onely haue souldiers, horses, and ships, but also the aide of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts. With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they raised their camps, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruellous force, lighted vpon two of the foremost ensignes, and alwayes followed the souldiers, which gaue them meate, and fed them, vntill they came neare to the citie of Philippes : and there one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now Brutus had conquered the most part of all the people, and nations of that countrey : but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleare before them, and so drew towards

the coasts of Thassos. There Norbanus lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called Symbolon (which is a port of the sea) Cassius and Brutus compassed him in such sort, that he was driuen to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to haue lost all his army. For Octavius Cæsar could not follow him because of his sicknesse, and therefore stayed behind: wherupon they had taken his army, had not Antonius aide bene, which made such wonderfull speed, that Brutus could scant beleue it. So Cæsar came not thither of ten dayes after: & Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on the other side against Cæsar. The Romains called the valley between both camps, the Philippian fields: and there were neuer seene two so great armies of the Romaines, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus army was inferior to Octavius Cæsar, in number of men: but for brauery & rich furniture, Brutus army far excelled Cæsars. For the most part of their armours were siluer and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully giuen thē: although in all other things he taught his captaines to liue in order without excesse. But for the brauery of armor, & weapon, which souldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpon their backes: he thought that it was an encouragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, and that it maketh them also fight like diuels that loue to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, Octavius Cæsar tooke the muster of his armie within the trenches of the camp, & gaue his men only a litle corne, and fīue siluer Drachmaes to euerie man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for victorie. But Brutus scorning this misery and nigardlinesse, first of all mustered

his army, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the maner of the Romans: and then he gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to sacrifice, and fifty siluer Drachmaes to euery souldier. So that Brutus and Cassius souldiers were better pleased, and more coragiously bent to fight at the day of battel, then his enemies souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certaine vnlucky signes vnto Cassius. For one of his Sergeants that caried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he shold haue worne on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreouer it is reported also, that another time before, in certaine sports and triūph where they caried an image of Cassius victory of cleane gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a maruellous number of fowles of prey, that feed vpon dead carcasses: and Bee-hiues also were found, where Bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the camp: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would haue of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius mind from Epicurus opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a maruellous feare. Therupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this war at one battell, but rather to delay time, & to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in mony, and the weaker in men and armors. But Brutus in contrary maner, did alway before and at that time also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, as soone as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and

maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiving that in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and euer had the better: that yet quickened his spirits againe, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yeelded themselues to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreouer diuerse others would do the like: that made many of Cassius friends, which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in councell whether the battell should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus mind. But yet was there one of Brutus friends called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tary the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarying a yeare longer? If I get nothing else, quoth Atellius againe, yet haue I liued so much longer. Cassius was very angry with this answer: & Atellius was maliced & esteemed the worse for it of all men. Therupon it was presently determined they shold fight battell the next day. So Brutus all supper time looked with a chearful countenance, like a man that had good hope, & talked very wisely of Philosophy, & after supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper time he looked verie sadly, & was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: & that after supper he tooke him by the hand, & holding him fast (in token of kindnesse as his maner was) told him in Greeke: Messala, I protest vnto thee, & make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the great was) to ieopard the libertie of our country, to the hazard of a battell. And yet we must be liuely, & of good corage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we folow euill counsell. Mes-

sala writeth, that Cassius hauing spoken these last words vnto him, he bad him farewell, & willed him to come to supper to him the next night folowing, because it was his birth day. The next morning by breake of day, the signall of battell was set out in Brutus and Cassius campe, which was an arming scarlet coate : & both the Chieftaines spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speake first, and sayd : The gods grant vs, ô Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and euer after to liue all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods haue so ordained it, that the greatest and chieftest things amongst men are most vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or looke for, we shall hardly meet againe : what art thou then determind to do, to flie, or die ? Brutus answered him, being yet but a yong man, and not ouer greatly experienced in the world : I trust (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing himselfe, as being no lawfull nor godly act, touching the gods : nor concerning men, valiant ; nor to give place and yeeld to diuine prouidence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send vs, but to draw backe and flie : but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs : I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for war againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my countrey in the Ides of March, for the which I shall liue in another more glorious world. Cassius fell a laughing to heare what he sayd, & imbracing him, Come on then (said he) let vs go & charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to feare the con-

querors. After this talke, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might haue the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was farre meeter for Cassius: both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gaue it him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions they had) should be also in that wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footemen also were as willing and readie to giue charge. Now Antonius men did cast a trench from the marrish by the which they lay, to cut off Cassius way to come to the sea: and Cæsar, at the least his armie stirred not. As for Octavius Cæsar himselfe, he was not in his campe, because he was sicke. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to haue kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heed to them that came ful vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meane time Brutus that led the right wing, sent little bills to the Colonels and Captaines of priuate bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battell: and he himself riding a horse-backe by all the troupes, did speake to them, and encouraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them vnderstood what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them neuer taried to haue it told them, but ranne with great furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were maruellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For, first of all Missalæs legion, and then the

next vnto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glauncing by them, ouerthrew some as they went, and so going on further, fell right vpon Cæsars campe, out of the which (as himselfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, through the counsell and aduice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius: who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commanded Octavius Cæsar should be carried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slaine, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongst others, there were slaine two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to aide Cæsar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had giuen a charge full vpon Cæsars battell: they easily made them flie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their camp, and of them there slaine by hand three legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ranne in amongst them hand ouer head into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it vnto them that were ouercome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and vnguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too farre off, in following of them that were ouerthrown. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the middest of their battell, where they found them that receiued them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them

into their campe, the which they spoiled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the first charge, was gotten in the next marrish : and no man could tell what became of Octavius Cæsar, after he was carried out of his campe. Insomuch that there were certaine souldiers that shewed their swords bloudied, and said that they had slaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the voward and the middest of Brutus battell, had alreadie put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter : so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing vndid them, but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had ouercome them, as himselfe had done : and Cassius on the other side taried not for Brutus, thinking he had bene ouerthrowne, as himselfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on Brutus side, Messala confirmeth it : that they wan three Eagles, and diuers other ensignes of their enemies, and their enemies wan neuer a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked Cæsars men : he wondred much that he could not see Cassius tent standing vp high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his camp stāding as they were before, because all the whole camp had bin spoiled, and the tents throwne downe, at the first comming of the enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose sight serued them better, told him that they saw a great glistering of harnesse, and a number of siluered targets, that went and came into Cassius camp, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp : and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, & great ouerthrow, as there should haue bin, if so many legions had bene slaine. This made

Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the camp of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide Cassius, who was in this state as you shall heare. First of all he was maruellous angrie to see how Brutus men ran to give charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to giue charge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell straight to spoile, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of the enemies behind. But with tarying too long also, more then through the valiantnesse or foresight of the Captaines his enemies: Cassius found himselfe compassed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereupon his horsmen brake immediatly, and fled for life towards the sea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footmen to giue ground, he did what he could to keepe them from flying, and tooke an ensigne from one of the ensigne-bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feete: although with much ado he could scant keepe his owne guard together. So Cassius himselfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plaine: howbeit Cassius himselfe saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, sauing that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his campe before his eyes. He saw also a great troupe of horsmen, whom Brutus sent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brutus horsmen saw him comming a farre off, whom when they knew that he was one of Cassius chiefest friends, they shouted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their

horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about a horse-back, with songs of victorie and great rushing of their harnesse, so that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For Cassius thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: desiring too much to liue, I haue liued to see one of my best friends takē, for my sake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where no body was, and tooke Pindarus with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reserued euer for such a pinch, since the cursed battell of the Parthians, where Crassus was slaine, though he notwithstanding scaped from that ouerthrow: but then casting his cloke ouer his head, and holding out his bare necke vnto Pindarus, he gaue him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found seuered from the body: but after that time Pindarus was neuer seene more. Whereupon, some tooke occasion to say that he had slaine his maister without his commaundement. By and by they knew the horsmen that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed vnto Cassius. But when he perceiued by the cries and teares of his friends which tormēted themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his Captaine Cassius, by mistaking: he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had taried so long, & so slew himselfe presently in the field. Brutus in the meane time came forward still, and vnderstood also that Cassius had bin ouerthrowne: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romaines, being vnpossible that Rome should ever breed againe so noble and valiant a man as he: he caused his bodie to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thassos,

fearing lest his funerals within the campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together, and did encourage them againe. And when he saw that they had lost all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promised euery man of them two thousand Drachmaes in recompence. After his souldiers had heard his oration, they were al of them pretily cheared again, wondring much at his great liberalitie, & waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he onely of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battel. And to speake the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conquerour. For with few legions, he had slaine and driuen all them away that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not out gone their enemies to runne to spoile their goods: surely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left neuer a man of them aliue. There were slaine of Brutus side about eight thousand men, counting the souldiers slaues, whom Brutus called Brigas: and of the enemies side, as Messala writeth, there were slaine as he supposeth, more than twise as many moe. Wherefore they were more discouraged then Brutus, vntill that very late at night, there was one of Cassius men called Demetrius, who went vnto Antonius, and caried his maisters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus enemies, and made them so braue, that the next morning betimes they stood in battell ray againe before Brutus. But on Brutus side, both his campos stood wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full of prisoners, required a good guard to looke vnto them: and Cassius camp on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine very heauily; and beside, there was some vile grudge betweene them that were ouercome, and those that did ouercome. For this

cause therefore Brutus did set them in battell ray, but yet kept himselfe from giuing battell. Now for the slaues that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to & fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commended they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemeis, then with him. For with them, they were slaues and seruants: and with him, they were free men and citizens. So when he saw that diuers captaines and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no meanes saue their liues: Brutus himselfe hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius a iester, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them vnto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to iest broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherwayes. Whereupon Messala Coruinus said, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keepe such mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them sport. Some that stood by, laughed at his deuise. But Publius Casca, that gaue Iulius Cæsar the first wound when he was slaine, said then: It doth not become vs to be thus merrie at Cassius funerals: and for thee Brutus, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a Captaine thy compeere, by putting to death, or sauing the liues of these blouds, who hereafter will mocke him and defame his memorie. Brutus answered againe in choller: Why then do you come to tell me of it, Casca, and do not your selues what you thinke good? When they heard him say so, they tooke his answer

for a consent against these poore vnfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good : and therefore they caried them away, and slue them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gaue them the two thousand Drachmaes a peece, but yet he first reprooued them, because they went and gaue charge vpon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell giuen them : and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would giue them the sacke and spoile of two cities, to wit, Thessalonica and Lacedæmon. In all Brutus life there is but this onely fault to be found, and that is not to be gainesaid : though Antonius and Octavius Cæsar did reward their souldiers farre worse for their victorie. For when they had driuen all the natural Italians out of Italy, they gaue their souldiers their lands and townes, to the which they had no right : and moreouer, the only marke they shot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome and raigne. Where in contrary maner they had so great an opinion of Brutus vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to saue himselfe, otherwise then iustly and honestly, and specially after Cassius death ; whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moued Brutus to great crueltie. But now, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some other peece of wood in liew thereof, and do helpe themselues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that instant danger : euen so Brutus, hauing such a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires standing very tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequal with him in dignitie and authoritie ; he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and he was of mind himselfe also to graunt them any thing,

that he thought might make them serue like noble souldiers at time of need. For Cassius souldiers were very euil to be ruled, and did shew themselues very stubborne and lustie in the camp, because they had no Chieftaine that did commaund them : but yet ranke cowards to their enemies, because they had once ouercome them. On the other side, Octavius Cæsar and Antonius were not in much better state : for first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these dicommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For Brutus ships met with a great aide and supply of men, which were sent them out of Italy, and they ouerthrew them in such sort, that there scaped but few of them : and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and sailes of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battell againe, before Brutus should haue intelligence of this good newes for him : for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selvesame day it was fought by land. But by il fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the captaines, the victory came not to Brutus eare till twentie daies after. For had he known of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good prouision for his armie for a long time ; and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his camp could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would

haue marellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lords, but required one onely absolute Gouvernour : God, to preuent Brutus that it should not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a litle too late. For the day before the last battell was giuen, very late in the night came Clodius, one of his enemies into his camp, who told that Cæsar hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before Brutus vnderstood it. Howbeit they gaue no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto Brutus, because they thought it was but a lie deuised, to be the better welcome for this good news. The selfsame night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before vnto Brutus in the citie of Sardis, did now appeare againe vnto him in the selfesame shape and forme, and so vanished away, and said neuer a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a graue and wise Philosopher, that had bin with Brutus frō the beginning of this war, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a swarme of bees, and that there was one of the captaines, whose arme sodainely fel a sweating, that it dropped oile of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. And that before the battel was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruellous great silence all the valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betweene them ; and that in the end, the Eagle towards Brutus gaue ouer and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale, that when the gate of the campe was open,

the first man the standard-bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom the souldiers for ill luck mangled with their swords. Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, and had set them in battel ray, directly against the voward of his enemy, he paused a long time before he gaue the signall of battell. For Brutus riding vp and downe to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of them; besides, that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreouer, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to giue charge, but stil staid to see what the footmen would do. Then sodainly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army called Camulatus, and that was alway maruellously esteemed of for his valiantness, vntil that time: he came hard by Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yeeld himselfe vnto his enemies. Brutus was maruellous sorie for it; wherfore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to march, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So that in that place where he himselfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of the enemies, which gaue him way, through the help of his horsemen that gaue charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze and afraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched; they were affraid to haue bin compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number then their enumies, and therfore did spread themselues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Whereby they hauing weakened themselues, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned taile straight and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to compasse Brutus behind, who in the middest of the con-

flict, did all that was possible for a skilful captaine and valiant souldier; both for his wisdome, as also his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the second battell, of Cassius men that were put to flight, there were few slaine: and they that saued themselves by speed, being affraid because they had bene ouercome, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to ioyne with them, and filled all the armie with feare and disorder. There was the sonne of Marcus Cato slaine, valiantly fighting among the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very wearie and ouer-harried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slaine round about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the chieftest Gentlemen and Nobilitie that were in his armie: who valiantly ranne into any danger to saue Brutus life. Amongst them there was one of Brutus friends called Lucilius, who seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should beleeeue him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was affraid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking them selues happie men; they caried him in the night and sent some before vnto Antonius, to tel him of their comming. He was maruellous glad of it, and went out to meete them

that brought him. Others also vnderstanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himself so cowardly to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neare together, Antonius staid awhile bethinking himself how he should vse Brutus. In the meane time Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said: Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemie hath taken nor shall take Marcus Brutus aliue: and I beseech God keepe him from that fortune. For wheresoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like himselfe. And now for my selfe, I am come vnto thee, hauing deceiued these men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was Brutus: and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. Lucilius words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking vpon all them that had brought him, said vnto them: My companions, I thinke ye are sorie you haue failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I assure you, you have taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For in stead of an enemy, you haue brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus aliue, truly I can not tell what I should haue done to him. For, I had rather haue such men my friends, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time deliuered him to one of his friends in custodie; and Lucilius euer after serued him faithfully, euen to his death. Now Brutus hauing passed a litle riuer, walled in on either side with high rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but staid at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and friends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full

of starres, sighing, he rehearsed two verses ; of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect :

*Let not the wight from whom this mischief went
(O Ioue) escape without due punishment.*

And saith, that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his friends that he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before, specially when he came to name Labio and Flavius, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioners of his camp. In the meane time one of the companie being a thirst, and seeing Brutus a thirst also : he ran to the riuier for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the selfsame time they heard a noise on the other side of the riuier. Whereupon Volumnius tooke Dardanus, Brutus seruant with him, to see what it was : and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left. Brutus smiling, gently told them all was drunke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly scaped, being sore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slaine in battel, and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift vp a torch-light in the aire, and then returne againe with speed to him. The torch-light was lift vp as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he said : if Statilius be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands and was slaine. Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sate bowed towards Clitus one of his

men, and told him somewhat in his eare: the other answered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him: at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greeke, prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarying for them there, but that they must needs flie. Then Brutus rising vp, we must flie indeed said he, but it must be with our hands, not with our feet. Then taking euery man by the hand, he said these words vnto them with a chearefull countenance. It reioyceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but onely for my countries sake: for, as for me, I thinke my selfe happier then they that haue ouercome, considering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our courage and manhood, the which our enemies the conquerors shall neuer attaine vnto by force or money; neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and vniust men, haue slaine good men, to usurpe tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Hauing said so, he prayed euery man to shift for them selves, and then he went a litle aside with two or three onely, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rhetoricke. He came as neare to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling downe vpon the point of it, ranne himselfe through. Others say, that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell downe vpon it; and so ran himselfe through, and died presently. Messala, that had bene Brutus great friend, became afterwards Octavius

Cæsars friend. So, shortly after, Cæsar being at good leisure, he brought Strato, Brutus friend vnto him, and weeping said: Cæsar, behold, here is he that did the last seruice to my Brutus. Cæsar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull seruice in all his affaires, as any Grecian else he had about him, vntill the battle of Activm. It is reported also that this Messala himselfe answered Cæsar one day, when he gaue him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affectiō for him at the battell of Activm: (notwithstanding that he had bene his cruel enemy before, at the battell of Philippes, for Brutus sake) I euer loued, said he, to take the best and iustest part. Now Antonius hauing found Brutus bodie, he caused it to be wrapped vp in one of the richest coate-armors he had. Afterwards also, Antonius vnderstanding that this coate-armor was stolne, he put the theefe to death that had stolne it, and sent the ashes of his bodie vnto Seruilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus wife; Nicolaus the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill her selfe (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keepe her from it) tooke hote burning coles and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her selfe. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being sicke, they would not helpe her, but suffered her to kill her selfe; chusing to die, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the disease and loue of this Ladie, and also the manner of her death.



CORIO LANUS.

“SHAKESPEARE’S ‘Coriolanus’ is taken from Sir Thomas North’s translation of Plutarch’s ‘Lives;’ but it commences with a slight variation. According to the Greek biographer, and to other received histories, the plebeians of Rome, about the year 260, sixteen after the expulsion of the Tarquins, retired, in consequence of their difference with the patricians, to a hill near to the city, which was afterwards called *Mons Sacer*. The opening of the play (though placed in ‘a street in Rome,’) is evidently meant to represent this occurrence.”—Courtenay’s “Commentaries on the Historical Plays,” 1840, ii. 211, *et seq.* That writer points out other deviations.



The Life of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

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[From North's "Plutarch."]

THE house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the Patricians, out of the which haue sprong many noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, king Numaes daughters sonne, who was King of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same house were Publius and Quintus, who brought to Rome their best water they had by conduits. Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed, because the people had chosen him Censor twice. Through whose perswasion they made a lawe, that no man from hencefoorth might require, or enioy the Censorshippe twice. Caius Martius, whose life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widow, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common sort: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully do complaine, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in

their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good prooffe to confirme some mens opinions: That a rare and excellent wit vntaught, doth bring forth many good and euill things together: as a fat soile that lyeth vnmanured bringeth forth both hearbes and weedes. For this Martius naturall wit and great heart did maruellously stirre vp his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side for lack of education, he was so cholericke and impatient, that he would yeeld to no liuing creature: which made him churlish, vnciuill, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuersation. Yet men maruelling much at his constancie, that he was neuer ouercome with pleasure, nor mony, & how he wold endure easily all maner of paines & trauels: therupon they well liked and commended his stoutnesse and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen vseth to be with another in the city: his behauiour was so vnpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because it was too Lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefite that learning bringeth vnto men, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough by nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be ciuill and courteous, and to like the better the meane state, then the higher. Now, in those daies, valiantnes was honoured in Rome aboue all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it self, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin, was as much as valiantnesse. But Martius being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time, beganne from his childhood to giue himselfe to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himselfe therein: and he esteemed outward armour to no pur-

pose, vnlesse one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he did so exercise his bodie to hardnesse and all kind of actuitie, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mightie in griping, so that no man could euer cast him. Insomuch as those that would try masteries with him for strength and nimblenesse, would say when they were ouercome : that all was by reason of his naturall strength, and hardnesse of ward, that neuer yeelded to any paine or toyle he tooke vpon him. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when Tarquine surnamed the proud (that had bene king of Rome, and was driuen out for his pride, after many attempts made by sundry battels to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome) did come to Rome with all the aide of the Latines, and many other people of Italy : euen as it were to set vp his whole rest vpon a battel by them, who with a great and mighty army had vndertaken to put him into his kingdome againe, not so much to pleasure him, as to ouerthrow the power of the Romaines, whose greatnesse they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein were many hote and sharpe encounters of either party, Martius valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator : and a Roman souldier being throwne to the ground euen hard by him, Martius straight bestrid him, and slue the enemy with his owne hands that had before ouerthrowne the Romaine. Hereupon, after the battell was won, the Dictator did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Martius with a garland of oken boughes. For whosoeuer saueth the life of a Romaine, it is a maner among them, to honour him with such a garland. This was, either because the law did this honour to the oke, in fauour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of Apollo were in old time called eaters of akornes : or else because the souldiers might easily in euery place come by oken

boughs : or lastly, because they thought it very necessarie, to giue him that had saued a citizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto Iupiter, the patron and protectour of Cities, and thought amongst other wild trees to bring forth a profitable frute, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreouer, men at the first beginning did vse akornes for their bread, and hony for their drink : and further, the oke did feed their beasts, and giue them birds, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made bird-lime to catch silly birds. They saw that Castor and Pollux, appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men saw them in the market place at Rome, all their horses being on a white foame : and they were the first that brought newes of the victory, euen in the same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honor of them, neare vnto the fountaine. And this is the cause, why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of Iuly) is consecrated yet to this day vnto Castor and Pollux. Moreouer it is daily seene, that honour and reputation lighting on yong men before their time, and before they haue any great courage by nature, the desire to win more dyeth straight in them, which easily happeneth, the same hauing no deepe root in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that valiaunt minds do come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, hasting them forward as with force of wind, to enterprise things of high deseruing praise. For they esteeme not, to receiue reward for seruice done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come : and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heeles, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiaunt deedes. This desire being bred in Martius, he strained still to passe himselfe in manlinesse : and being desirous to shew a daily in-

crease of his valiantnesse, his noble seruice did still aduance his fame, bringing in spoyles vpon spoyles from the enemy. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of them that went before) did contend who should most honor him, and who should beare most honourable testimony of his valiantnes. Insomuch as the Romaines hauing many warres and battels in those dayes, Coriolanus was at them all : and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not with some reward of honor. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant, was that they hoped to haue honor : but touching Martius, the onely thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioy he saw his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honorable, as that his mother might heare euery body praise and commend him, that she might alwaies see him returne with a crown vpon his head, and that she might still imbrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for ioy. Which desire they say Epaminondas did auow, and confesse to haue bene in him : as to think him self a most happy & blessed man, that his father and mother in their life time had seen the victory he wan in the plaine of Levctres. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioy and and prosperity : but Martius thinking al due to his mother, that had bene also due to his father if he had liued, did not only content himself to reioyce and honor her, but at her desire took a wife also, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers house therfore. Now he being growne to great credit and authority in Rome for his valiantnesse, it fortunued there grew sedition in the city, because the Senate did fauour the rich against the people, who did complaine of the sore oppression of vsurers, of whom they borrowed mony. For those

that had litle, were yet spoiled of that litle they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the vsury: who offered their goods to be sold to thē that would giue most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondsmen, nothwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had receiued in many battels, fighting for defence of their countrey and common wealth: of the which, the last warre they made was against the Sabynes, wherein they fought vpon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreat them more gently, and also vpon the word of Marcus Valerius chiefe of the Senate, who by authority of the Counsell, and in the behalfe of the rich, said they should performe what they had promised. But after they had faithfully serued in this last battel of all, where they ouercame their enemies, seeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would giue no eare to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promise, and suffered them to be made slaues and bond men to their creditours, and besides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to stirre vp dangerous tumults within the city. The Romaines enemies hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the territories of Rome with a marvellous great power, spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all those that were of lawfull age to cary weapon, should come and enter their names into the muster-masters book, to go to the wars: but no man obeyed their commandement. Whereupon their chiefe magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of diuers opinions among thēselues. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yeeld to the poore peoples request, and

that they should a litle qualifie the seuerity of the law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martius for one. For he alleaged, that the creditours loosing their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was herein: but that the lenity that was fauoured, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the communalty, was to abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wise, they should betimes preuent and quench this ill fauoured & worse meant beginning. The Senate met many days in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore common people seeing no redresse, gathered themselues one day together, and one encouraging another, they all forsook the city, and encamped themselues vpon a hil, called at that day the holy hill, alongst the riuer of Tyber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actuall rebellion: sauing that they cried as they went vp and down, that the rich men had driuen them out of the city, and that throughout all Italie they might find aire, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreouer, they said, to dwell at Rome was nothing els but to be slaine, or hurt with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the rich mens goods. The Senate being afeard of their departure, did send vnto them certaine of the pleasantest old men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of those Menenius Agrippa was he, who was sent for cliiefe man of the message from the Senate. He after many good perswasions and gentle requests made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate, knit vp his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner: That on a time all the members of mans body did rebell against the belly, complaining of it, that it only remained in the midst of the body, without doing any thing, neither did beare any labour to the main-

tenance of the rest: whereas all other parts and members did labour painfully, and were very carefull to satisfie the appetites and desires of the body. And so the belly, all this notwithstanding laughed at their folly, and said: It is true, I first receiue all meates that nourish mans body: but afterwards I send it againe to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Euen so (quoth he) O you, my masters, and citizens of Rome: the reason is alike betweene the Senate and you. For matters being wel digested, and their counsels thoroughly examined, touching the benefit of the common-wealth, the Senatours are cause of the common commodity that cometh vnto euery one of you. These perswasions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearely chosen fise Magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whose office should be to defend the poore people from violence & oppression. So Iunius Brutus, and Sicinius Velutus, were the first tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only bene the causers and procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the city being growne againe to good quiet and vnity, the people immediatly went to the warres, shewing that they had a good will to do better then euer they did, and to be very willing to obey the Magistrates in that they would command, concerning the wars. Martius also, though it liked him nothing to see the greatnesse of the people thus increased, considering it was to the preiudice and imbasing of the Nobility, and also saw that other noble Patricians were troubled as well as himselfe: he did perswade the Patricians, to shew themselues no lesse forward and willing to fight for their country, then the common people were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much passe the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiantnesse. In the countrey of

the Volsces against whom the Romaines made warre at that time, there was a principall city and of most fame, that was called Corioles, before the which the Consul Cominius did lay siege. Wherefore all the other Volsces fearing least that city should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the countrey to saue it, intending to giue the Romaines battell before the city, and to giue an onset on them in two seuerall places. The Consul Cominius vnderstanding this, deuided his army also into two parts, and taking the one part with himself, he marched towards them that were drawing to the citie, out of the countrey: and the other part of his army he left in the campe with Titus Latius (one of the valiantest men the Romaines had at that time) to resist those that would make any sally out of the city vpon them so. So the Coriolans making smal account of them that lay in camp before the city, made a sally out vpon them, in the which at the first the Coriolans had the better, and draue the Romaines backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But Martius being there at that time, running out of the campe with a few men with him, he slue the first enemies he met withall, and made the rest of them stay vpon the sodain, crying out to the Romaines that had turned their backs, and calling thē again to fight with a loud voice. For he was euen such another, as Cato would haue a souldier and a captaine to be, not onely terrible, and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeard with the sound of his voice, & grimnesse of his countenance. Thē there flocked about him immediatly, a great number of Romaines: whereat the enemies were so afeard, that they gaue back presently. But Martius not staying so, did chase and follow them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there perceiuing that the Romaines retired back, for the great number of darts and arrowes which flew about their eares from

the wals of the city, and that there was not one man amongst them that durst venter himself to follow the flying enemies into the citie, for that it was full of men of warre, very well armed and appointed : he did encourage his fellowes with words and deeds, crying out to thē, that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers then the fliers. But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Martius being in the throng among the enemies, thrust himselfe into the gates of the city, and entred the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turne their face vpon him, or offer to stay him. But he looking about him, and seeing he was entred the city with very few men to helpe him, and perceiuing he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered round about to set vpon him : did things as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, aswell for the force of his hand, as also for the agility of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantnesse he made a lane through the middest of them, and ouerthrew also those he layed at : that some he made runne to the furthest part of the city, and other for feare he made yeeld themselues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, Martius that was gotten out, had some leisure to bring the Romaines with more safety into the city. The city being taken in this sort, the most part of the souldiers began incontinently to spoile, to cary away, and to look vp the bootie they had wonne. But Martius was maruellous angry with them, and cryed out on them, that it was no time to looke after spoile, and to runne stragling here and there to enrich themselues, whilst the other Consull and their fellow citizens peradventure were fighting with their enemies : and how that leauing the spoyle, they should seeke to winde themselues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit, crie

and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the citie, and tooke his way towards that part, where he vnderstood the rest of the army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him not to be faint-hearted, and oft holding vp his hands to heauen, he besought the gods to be gracious and fauourable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in a good houre to hazard his life in defence of his country-men. Now the Romaines when they were put in battell ray, and ready to take their targets on their armes, and to gird them vpon their arming coates, had a custome to make their willes at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him onely whom they would make their heire in the presence of three or foure witnesses. Martius came iust to that reckoning, whilst the souldiers were doing after that sort, and that the enemies were approached so neare, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first comming all bloudy, and in a sweat, and but with a few men following him : some thereupon beganne to be afeard. But soone after, when they saw him runne with a liuely cheere to the Consull, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the citie of Corioles, and that they saw the Consul Cominius also kisse and imbrace him : then there was not a man but took heart againe to him, and beganne to be of a good courage, some hearing him report from point to point, the happy successe of this exploit, and other also coniecturing it by seeing their gestures a farre off. Then they all began to call vpon the Consull to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to giue charge vpon the enemye. Martius asked him how the order of their enemies battell was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consull made him answere, that he thought

the bands which were in the vaward of their battell, were those of the Antiates, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would giue no place to any of the hoast of their enemies. Then prayed Martius, to be set directly against them. The Consull graunted him, greatly praising his courage. Then Martius, when both armies came almost to ioyne, aduaunced himselfe a good space before his company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the vaward that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battell of the enemies. But the two wings of either side turned one to the other, to compasse him in betweene them: which the Consull Cominius perceiuing, he sent thither straight of the best souldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruellous bloudie about Martius, and in a very short space many were slaine in the place. But in the end the Romaines were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and scattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed Martius that he would retire to the campe, because they sawe he was able to doe no more, he was alreadie so wearied with the great paine he had taken, and so faint with the great woundes he had vpon him. But Martius aunswered them, that it was not for conquerors to yeeld, nor to be faint harted: and thereupon began afresh to chase those that fledde, vntill such time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowne, and numbers of them slaine and taken prisoners. The next morning betimes, Martius went to the Consull, and the other Romaines with him. There the Consull Cominius going vp to his chayre of state, in the presence of the whole armie, gaue thanks to the goddes for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to Martius, whose valiantnesse he commended beyond

the Moone, both for that he himselfe sawe him do with his eyes, as also for that Martius had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed Martius, that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of euerie sorte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that day the price of prowesse aboue all other, a goodly horse with a capparison, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, did maruellously praise and commend. But Martius stepping forth, told the Consull, he most thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his seruice had deserued his Generals commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenarie reward, then an honourable recompence, he would haue none of it, but was contented to haue his equall part with the other souldiers. Onely, this grace (sayd he) I craue and beseech you to graunt me: Among the Volsces there is an old friend and host of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a prisoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrey, liueth now a poore prisoner, in the hands of his enemies: & yet notwithstanding all this his misery & misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from being sold as a slaue. The souldiers hearing Martius words, made a maruellous great shout among them: and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they saw so litle couetousnesse in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantnesse. For euen they themselues that did somewhat malice and enuy his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly praised, did thinke him so much the more worthy of an hon-

ourable recompence for his valiant seruice, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made vnto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as vnto a worthy person. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them then to vse them well. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consull Cominius beganne to speake in this sort: We cannot compell Martius to take these gifts we offer him if he will not receiue them: but we will giue him such a reward for the noble seruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, vnlesse his valiant acts haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since, he still bare the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, the first name the Romaines haue, as Caius: was as our Christian name now. The second, as Martius: was the name of the house and family they came of. The third, was some addition giuen, either for some act or notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so did the Grecians in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they haue called some, Soter and Callinicos, as much to say as sauour and conquerour. Or els of some notable apparant mark on ones face, or on his body, they haue called him Phiscon and Grypos: as ye would say, gorebelly, and hooke nosed: or else for some vertue, as Euergetes, and Phyladelphos: to wit, a benefactour, and loue of his brethren. Or otherwise for ones great felicitie, as Eudæmon: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of

the Battes¹ surnamed. And some Kings have had surnames of iest and mockery. As one of the Antigones that was called Dason, to say, the Giuer : who was euer promising, and neuer giuing. And one of the Ptolomees was called Lamyros : to say, conceitue. The Romaines vse more then any other nation, to giue names of mockery in this sort. As there was one Metellus surnamed Diadematus the banded : because he caried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne family was called Celer, the quicke flie : because a few dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell sight of fencers at vnrebated swords, which they found wonderfull for the shortnesse of time. Other had their surnames deriued of some accident of their birth. As to this day they call him Proculeius, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage : and him Posthumius, that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other suruiue : they call the suruiuer, Vopiscus. Sometimes also they giue surnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the body : as Sylla, to say, crooked nosed : Niger, blacke : Rufus, red : Cæcus, blind : Claudus, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustome men to thinke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor any other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the people began to stirre vp sedition againe, without any new occasion, or iust matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this second insurrection against the Nobility

¹ These were the princes that built the citie of Cyrene.

and Patricians, vpon the peoples misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord and sedition between them and the Nobility. Because the most part of the arable land within the territory of Rome, was become heathy & barrē for lack of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne to be brought thē out of other countries to sow, by reason of their wars which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busie pratlers that sought the peoples good will by such flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of corne to be within the city, and though there had bin plenty enough, yet the common people had no mony to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumors against the Nobility, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearth among thē. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came Abassadours to Rome from the citie of Velitres, that offered vp their citie to the Romaines, and prayed them they would send new inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had bene so extreame among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth person of the people that had bene there before. So the wise men of Rome began to thinke, that the necessitie of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy houre, and how by this occasion it was very meete in so great a scarcitie of victuals, to disburden Rome of a great number of citizens: and by this meanes aswell to take away this new sedition, and vtterly to rid it out of the city, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously fed this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to send to Velitres, to go dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out all the rest that remained in the citie of Rome, a great number to go against the Vol-

scēs, hoping by the meane of forraine warre, to pacifie their sedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the rich, and the meane sort with the Nobilitie, should by this deuise be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one seruice, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spoke against either of these deuises, and cried out vpon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a Colonie, they would cloake and colour the most cruell and vnnaturall fact as might be: because they sent their poore citizens into a sore infected citie and pestilent ayre, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there also to dwell vnder the tuition of a strange god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) euen as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast downe the people into a most bottomelesse pit. And are not yet contented to haue famished some of the poore citizens heretofore to death, & to put other of them euen to the mercie of the plague: but a fresh they haue procured a voluntary warre, to the end they would leaue behind no kind of misery and ill, wherewith the poore silly people should not be plagued, and onely because they are weary to serue the rich. The common people being set on a broile and brauery with these words, would not appear when the Consuls called their names by a bill, to prest them for the warres, neither would they be sent out to this new colonie: insomuch as the Senate knew not well what to say or do in the matter. Martius then, who was now growne to great credit, and a stout man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, rose vp, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the citie of Velitres, he did compell those that were chosen to go thither, and to depart the citie, vpon great penalties to him that should dis-

obey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or constrained. So Martius taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by faire words intreat to go with him, did runne certaine forreys into the dominion of the Antiates, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruellous great spoile, aswell of cattell as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he had brought away with him and reserued nothing for himselfe. Afterwards, hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, safe and sound to Rome, and euery man rich and loaden with spoile: then the home-tarriers and house-doues that kept Rome stil, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so enuied them both that had sped so well in this iourney, and also of malice to Martius, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Martius stood for the Consulship: and the common people fauoured his sute, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chieftest noble man of bloud, and most worthy person of Rome, and specially him that had done so great seruice and good to the common-wealth. For the custome of Rome was at that time, that such as did sue for any office, should for certaine days before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus deuised, either to moue the people the more, by requesting them in such meane apparell, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the warres in the seruice of the common-wealth, as manifest markes and testimony of their valiantnesse. Now it is not to be thought that the suters went thus loose in a simple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder

it, for feare and suspicion of the common people : for offices of dignity in the city were not then giuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of officers, and that the voices of the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath runne from man to man, euen to the very sentence of Iudges, and also among captaines in the warres : so as in the end, that onely turned common-wealths into Kingdomes, by making armes subiect to money. Therefore me thinkes he had reason that said : he that first made banquets, and gaue money to the common people, was the first that tooke away authority, and destroyed common-wealth. But this pestilence crept in by litle and litle, and did secretly win ground still, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly knowne and discouered. For no man can tell who was the first man who bought the peoples voices for mony, nor that corrupted the sentence of the iudges. Howbeit at Athens some hold opinion, that Anytus, the sonne of Anthemion, was the first that fed the Iudges with money, about the end of the warres of Peloponnesvs, being accused of treason for yeelding vp the fort of Pyle at that time, when the golden and vnsoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at Rome. Now Martius following this custome, shewed many wounds and cuts vpon his body, which he had receiued in seuateene yeares seruice at the warres, and in many sundry battels, being euer the foremost man that did set out feete to fight. So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himselfe, to refuse so valiant a man : and one of them said to another : we must needs chuse him Consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, & that Martius came to the market place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate,

and the whole Nobilitie of the citie about him, who sought to make him Consull, with the greatest instance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter : then the loue and good will of the common people, turned straight to an hate and enuy toward him, fearing to put this office of soueraigne authoritie into his hands, being a man somewhat partiall toward the Nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongst the Patricians, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty from the people. Wherupon for these considerations, they refused Martius in the end, and made two other that were suters, Consuls. The Senate being maruellously offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusall, rather to redound to themselues then to Martius : but Martius tooke it in farre worse part then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too ful of passion and choller, and too much giuen ouer to selfe-wil & opinion, and one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the grauitie and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgement of learning & reason, which only is to be looked for in a gouernour of State : and that remembred not how wilfulnesse is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a common-wealth for pleasing should shun, being that which Plato called solitarinesse. As in the end, all men that are wilfully giuen to a selfe opinion and obstinate mind, and who will neuer yeeld to others reason, but to their owne : remaine without company, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, must needs haue patience, which lustie blouds make but a mocke at. So Martius being a stout man of nature, that neuer yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to ouercome alwayes, and to haue the vpper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity, and of no base & faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned part of the

heart, much like the matter of an impostume : went home to his house, full fraughted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest yong gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly vsed for to follow and honor him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him company to his much harme : for they did but kindle and inflame his choller more and more, being sory with him for the iniury the people offered him, because he was their captaine and leader to the warres, and taught them all marshal discipline, and stirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantnesse, and yet without enuy, praising them that deserued best. In the meane season, there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, part in Italy, and part was sent out of Sicile, as giuen by Gelon the tyrant of Syracvsa : so that many stood in great hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpen, the ciuill dissention would also cease. The Senate sate in counsell vpon it immediately, the common people stood also about the pallace where the counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out : perswading themselues that the corne they had bought should be sold good cheape, and that which was giuen should be deuided by the pole, without paying any pennie, and the rather, because certaine of the Senatours amongst them did so wish and perswade the same. But Martius standing vpon his feete, did somewhat sharpely take vp those, who went about to gratifie the people therein : and called them people-pleasers, and traitours to the Nobilitie. Moreouer he said, they nourished against themselues, the naughtie seede and cockle of insolencie and sedition, which had bene sowed and scattered amongst the people, which they should haue cut off, if they had bene wise, in their growth : and not (to their owne destruction) haue suffered the people, to stablish a

magistrate for themselves, of so great power and authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but liued in all liberty, acknowledging no superiour to commaund him, sauing the onely heads and authours of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore said he, they that gaue counsell, and perswaded that the corne should be giuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vsed to do in the cities of Grece, where the people had more absolute power: did but only nourish their disobedience, which would breake out in the end, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of the whole state. For they will not thinke it is done in recompence of their seruice past, sithence they know well enough they haue so oft refused to go to the warres, when they were commanded: neither for their mutinies when they went with vs, whereby they haue rebelled and forsaken their country: neither for their accusations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, and they haue receiued, and made good against the Senate: but they will rather iudge, we giue and graunt them this, as abasing our selues, and standing in feare of them, and glad to flatter them euery way. By this meanes their disobedience will still grow worse and worse: and they will neuer leaue to practise new sedition and vprores. Therefore it were a great folly for vs, me thinks to do it: yea, shall I say more? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the diuision of the citie. The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh dismembred in two factions, which maintaines alwaies ciuill dissention and discord betweene vs, and will neuer suffer vs againe to be

vnited into one body. Martius dilating the matter with many such like reasons, won all the young men, & almost all the rich men to his opinion: insomuch as they rang it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who stood out against the people, and neuer flattered them. There were only a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischiefe might fall out vpon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, when they saw that the opinion of Martius was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Senate, and went downe to the people, crying out for help, and that they would assemble to saue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tumult together, before whom the words that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so stomached, that euen in that furie they were ready to fly vpon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly vpon Martius, and sent their sergeants foorthwith to arrest him, presently to appeare in person before the people, to answere the words he had spoken in the Senate. Martius stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their owne persons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetch him by force, and so laid violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble Patricians gathering together about him, made the Tribunes giue backe, and laid sore vpon the Ædiles: so for that time, the night parted them, and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seeing the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all parts of the citie, they were afraid lest all the city would together by the eares: wherefore assembling the Senate in all hast, they declared how it stood them vpon, to appease the furie of the people, with some gentle words, or grate-

full decrees in their fauour : and moreouer, like wise men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the communaltie, they being falne to so great an extremitie, and offering such imminent daunger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to deliuer some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senatours that were present at this counsell, thought this opinion best, and gaue their consents vnto it. Wherupon the Consuls rising out of counsel, went to speak vnto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacifie their furie and anger, purging the Senate of all vniust accusations laid vpon them, and vsed great modesty in perswading them, and also in reprocuing the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corne : they promised there should be no disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and appearing so plainely by the great silence that was among them, as yeelding to the Consuls, and liking well of their words : the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seates, and said : Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded vnto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise giue place vnto them : but notwithstanding, they would that Martius should come in person to answer to the articles they had deuised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the present state of the common-weale, and to take the soueraigne authoritie out of the peoples hands. Next, when he was sent for by authority of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driuen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the world : if in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay, to raise ciuill wars, and to set one citizen against another. All this was

spoken to one of these two ends, either that Martius against his nature should be cōstrained to humble himselfe, and to abase his haughtie and fierce mind : or else if he continued still in his stoutnesse, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so far, that he should neuer possibly win them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise : as indeed they gessed vnhattily, considering Martius nature & disposition. So Martius came & presented himselfe, to answer their accusations against him, and the people held their peace, and gaue attentiu eare, to heare what he would say. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to vse his wonted boldnesse of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and vnpleasant, and did more aggrauate his accusation, then purge his innocencie) but also gaue himselfe in his words to thunder, and looke therewithall so grimly, as though he made no reckening of the matter. This stirred coales among the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, beare, nor indure his brauery and carelesse boldnesse. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruelliest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a litle with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, Martius as condemned by the Tribunes to dy. Then presently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and cary him straight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong downe the same. When the Ædiles came to lay hands vpon Martius to do that they were commaunded, diuers of the people thought it too cruel and violent a deed. The noble men also being much troubled to see such force and rigor vsed, began to crie aloud ; helpe Martius : so those that laide hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in

round among themselues, and some of them holding vp their hands to the people, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words, nor crying out could ought preuaile, the tumult and hurly burly was so great, vntill such time as the Tribunes owne friends and kinsemen weying with themselues the impossiblenesse to conuey Martius to execution, without great slaughter and murder of the nobilitie: did perswade and aduise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinarie a sort, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in law, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then Sicinius bethinking himself a litle, did ask the Patricians, for what cause they tooke Martius out of the officers hands that went to do execution? The Patricians asked him againe, why they would of themselues so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiaunt a Romaine as Martius was, and that without law or iustice? Well then, said Sicinius, if that be the matter, let there be no quarell or dissention against the people: for they do graunt your demaund, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore said he to Martius, we do will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voice the people may giue sentence vpon you as shall please them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were much pleased they had gotten Martius out of this danger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next session came about, the same being kept euery ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latine, *Nundinæ*: there fell out war against the Antiates; which gaue some hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that

this warre would hold them so long, as that the furie of the people against him would be well swaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the Antiates, and the people returned againe to Rome. Then the Patricians assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to Martius, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutinie againe, and rise against the Nobilitie. And there Appius Clodius (one that was taken euer as an heauie enemy to the people) did auow and protest, that they would vtterly abase the authoritie of the Senate, and destroy the commonweale, if they would suffer the common people to haue authoritie by voyces to giue iudgement against the Nobilitie. On the other side againe, the most auncient Senatours, and such as were giuen to fauour the common people, said: that when the people should see they had authoritie of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruell and fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More also, that it was not for contempt of Nobility or the Senate, that they sought to haue the authoritie of iustice in their hands, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but because they feared, that themselves should be contemned and hated of the Nobilitie. So as they were perswaded, that so soone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voyces: so soone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne any. Martius seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolute, partly for the loue and goodwill the Nobilitie did beare him, and partly for the feare they stood in of the people: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shew how he did aspire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to vsurpe tyrannicall power

ouer Rome. Martius with that, rising vpon his feete, said: that thereupon he did willingly offer himselfe to the people to be tryed vpon that accusation. And that if it were proued by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him: conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else besides, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Vnder these conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the people should proceed to giue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needie people (and all such rabble as had nothing to loose, and had lesse regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbered by the pole) then the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serue the common-wealth in their wars. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not proue he went about to make him selfe King, they beganne to broach afresh the former words that Martius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, and perswading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew that he had not made the common distribution of the spoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the Antiates: but had of his owne authoritie diuided it among them, who were with him in that iourney. But this matter was most straunge of all to Martius, looking least to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sodaine, and hauing no readie excuse to make euen at that instant; he began to fall a praising of the souldiers that had

serued with him in that iourney. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cryed out so loude, and made such a noise that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for euer. After declaration of the sentence, the people made such ioy, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were so braue and liuely, and went home so iocondly from the assembly for triumph of this sentence. The Senate againe in contrarie manner were as sadde and heauie, repenting themselues beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to haue done and suffered any thing whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly and outragiously haue abused their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward shewes to know a Plebeian from a Patrician, for they were easily discerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples side, looked chearely on the matter: but he that was sad, and hung downe his head, he was sure of the Noble mens side. Sauing Martius alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did euer shew himselfe abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himselfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his euill hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so caried away by the vehemencie of anger, and desire of reuenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people iudge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorow (as you would say) is set on fire, then it is conuerted into spite and malice, and driueth away for that time all

faintnesse of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the cholerick man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning agew : for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now that Martius was euen in that taking, it appeared true soone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, & had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and perswaded them to be content with his chaunce ; he went immediatly to the gate of the citie, accompanied with a great number of Patricians that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or foure of his friends onely, taking nothing with him, nor requesting any thing of any man. So he remained a few daies in the country at his houses, turmoyled with sundry sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stirre vp. In the end, seeing he could resolue no way, to take a profitable or honourable course, but onely was pricked forward still to reuenged of the Romaines : he thought to raise vp some great warres against them, by their nearest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stirre vp the Volsces against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had receiued not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired, as their malice and desire was increased to be reuenged of the Romaines. Now in the citie of Antium, there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valiantnesse was honoured among the Volsces as a King. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and enuie him, then he did all the Romaines besides : because that many times in battels where they met, they were euer at the

encounter one against another, like lusty couragious youths, striuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountred many times together. Insomuch as besides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruellous priuate hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great mind, and that he aboue all other of the Volsces most desired reuenge of the Romaines, for the iniuries they had done vnto them : he did an act that confirmed the words of an auncient Poet to be true, who said :

*It is a thing full hard, mans anger to withstand,
if it be stiffely bent to take an enterprise in hand.
For then most men will haue the thing that they desire,
although it cost their liues therefore, such force hath
wicked ire.*

And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowne him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe : and as Homer said of Vlysses :

So did he enter into the enemies towne.

It was euen twi-light when he entred the citie of Antivm, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius house, and when he came thither, he got him vp straight to the chimney harth, and sate him downe, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the house spying him, wondred what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For il fauouredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maiestie in his countenance, and in his silence : whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently

from the board, and comming towards him, asked what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martius vnmuffled himselfe, and after he had pawsed awhile, making no answer, he said vnto him : If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and seeing me, doest not perhappes beleeeue me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessitie bewray my selfe to be that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thy selfe particularly, and to all the Volsces generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I beare. For I neuer had other benefit nor recompence, of the true and painefull seruice I haue done, and the extreame daungers I haue bene in, but this only surname : a good memorie and witnesse of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest beare me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me : for the rest, the enuie and crueltie of the people of Rome haue taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobilitie and magistrates, who haue forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poore suter, to take thy chimney harth, not of any hope I haue to saue my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard : but prickt forward with desire to be reuenged of them that thus haue banished me, which now I doe beginne, in putting my person into the hands of enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any hart to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thee, speed thee now, & let my miserie serue thy turne, & so vse it, as my seruice may be a benefit to the Volsces : promising thee, that I will fight with better good-will for all you, then I did whē I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiātly, who know the force of the enemy, then such as haue neuer proued it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art wearie to proue fortune any more : then

am I also wearie to liue any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee, to saue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemy, and whose seruice now can nothing help nor pleasure thee. Tullus hearing what he said, was a maruellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he said vnto him. Stand vp, ô Martius, and be of good cheare, for in profering thy selfe vnto vs, thou dost vs great honour : and by this meanes thou maist hope also of greater things at all the Volsces hands. So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honorablest manner he could, talking with him of no other matters at that present : but within few daies after, they fell to consultation together in what sort they should beginne their wars. Now on the other side, the citie of Rome was in marvellous vprore and discord, the nobilitie against the communalitie, and chiefly for Martius condemnation and banishment. Moreouer the Priests, the Soothsayers, and priuate men also, came and declared to the Senate certaine sights and wonders in the aire, which they had seene, and were to be considered of : amongst the which such a vision happened : There was a citizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of meane quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, giuen to a quiet life, without superstition, and much lesse to vanitie or lying. This man had a vision in his dreame, in the which he thought that Iupiter appeared vnto him, and commanded him to signifie to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewd dauncer to go before the procession : and said, the first time this vision had appeared vnto him, he made no reckening of it : and comming againe another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter then before. In the end, he saw one of his sons dye, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethren : and suddenly he himselfe was so taken in all his lims,

that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumstance of this vision before the Senate, sitting vpon his litle couch or bed, whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no sooner reported this vision to the Senate, but he presently felt his body and lims restored againe to their former strength and vse. So raising vp himself vpon his couch, he got vp on his feet at that instant, & walked home to his house, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquirie to vnderstand the truth: and in the end they found there was such a thing: There was one that had deliuered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other slaues and bondmen, and had commaunded them to whip him vp and downe the market place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did so martyr the poore wretch, that for the cruell smart and paine he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitifull sort. The procession by chaunce came by euen at the same time, and many that followed it, were hartily moued & offended with the sight, saying: that this was no good sight to behold, nor meet to be met in procession time. But for all this, there was nothing done: sauing they blamed and rebuked him that punished this slaue so cruelly. For the Romaines at that time, did vse their bond men very gently, because they themselues did labor with their owne hands, and liued with them and among them: and therefore they did vse them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gaue a slaue that had offended, was this: They made him carie a limmer on his shoulders that is fastened to the axeltree of a coach, and compelled him to go vp and downe in that sort amongst all their neighbors. He that had once abidden this punishment, and was seene in that maner, was proclaimed and cried in euery

market towne : so that no man would euer trust him after, and they called him Furcifer, because the Latines call the wood that runneth into the axeltree of the coach, Furca, as much to say, as a forke. Now when Latinus had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were deuising whom this vnpleasant dauncer should be, that went before the procession. Therupon certain that stood by, remembred the poore slaue that was so cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwards put to death : and the thing that made them remember it, was the straunge and rare manner of his punishment. The priests hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduice : they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slaue. So they caused the slaues maister to be punished, and began againe a new procession, and all other shewes and sights in honour of Iupiter. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king Numa did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the gods, and specially this custome which he established, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any diuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age* : as to say, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commaunded, wholly to dispose themselves to serue God, leauing all other businesse and matters aside : knowing well enough, that whatsoeuer most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the Romaines did euer vse to begin againe their sacrifices, processions, playes, and such like shewes, done in honour of the gods, not onely vpon such an occasion, but vpon lighter causes then that. As when they went on procession through the citie, and did carie the images of their gods, and such other like holy reliques vpon open hallowed coaches

or chariots, called in Latine *Thensæ*: one of the coach horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also the coach-man tooke the raines of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begunne againe anew. Of later time also, they did renew and beginne a sacrifice thirty times after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same: so holy and deuout were they to the gods. Now Tullus and Martius had secret conference with the greatest personages of the citie of Antivm, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the Romaines, while they were in dissension one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace for two years. Howbeit, shortly after, the Romaines gaue them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy day common playes being kept in Rome, vpon some suspition, or false report, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volsces should auoid out of Rome before sunne set. Some thinke this was a craft and deceit of Martius, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls, to accuse the Volsces falsely, aduertising them how they had made a conspiracie to set vpon them, whilst they were busy in seeing these games, and also to set their citie on fire. This open proclamation made all the Volsces more offended with the Romaines, then euer they were before: and Tullus aggrauating the matter, did so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadours to Rome, to summon them to deliuer their lands and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The Romaines hearing this, were maruelously netled: and made no other aunswer but thus: If the Volsces be the first that begin warre, the Ro-

maines will be the last that will end it. Incontinently vpon returne of the Volsces ambassadors, and deliuerie of the Romaines answer: Tullus caused an assembly generall to be made of the Volsces, and concluded to make warre vpon the Romaines. This done, Tullus did counsell them to take Martius into their seruice, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more seruice in fighting for them, then euer he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Martius was called foorth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tounge, then warlike in shew: and declared himselfe both expert in warres, and wise with valiantnesse. Thus he was ioyned in commission with Tullus as generall of the Volsces, hauing absolute authoritie betweene them to follow and pursue the wars. But Martius fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volsces, would rob him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers and chiefe of the citie, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest souldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stale away vpon the sodaine, and marched with all speed, and entred the territories of Rome, before the Romaines heard any newes of his comming. Insomuch as the Volsces found such spoile in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to driue and cary away that they had. Howbeit the gaine of the spoile and the hurt they did to the Romaines in this inuasion, was the least part of his intent: for his chieftest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissension betweene the Nobilitie and the communalitie: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe

the Noble mens lands and goods safe from harme and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the noble mens. This made greater stir and broile between the nobility and the people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because they had so vniustly banished a man of so great valure and power. The people on the other side, accused the Nobility, how they had pocured Martius to make these wars to be reuēged of them : because it pleased them to see their goods burnt and spoyled before their eyes, whilst themselues were well at ease, and did behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, knowing their owne goods safe and out of danger : & how the war was not made against the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keep that they had in safety. Now Martius hauing done this first exploit (which made the Volsces bolder, and lesse fearfull of the Romaines) brought home all the army againe, without losse of any man. After their whole army (which was maruellous great, and very forward to seruice) was assembled in one campe, they agreed to leaue part of it for garrison in the country about, & the other part should go on, and make the warre vpon the Romaines. So Martius bade Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martius was no lesse valiant then himselfe, and how he euer had better fortune and good hap in all battels, then himselfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to haue the leading of those that should make the warres abroad, and himselfe would keep home, to prouide for the safety of the cities of his countrey, and to furnish the campe also of all necessary prouision abroad. So Martius being stronger then before, went first of all vnto the city of Cercees, inhabited by the Romaines, who willingly yeelded themselues, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the

countrey of the Latines, imagining the Romaines would fight with him there, to defend the Latines, who were their confederates, and had many times sent vnto the Romaines for their aide. But on the one side, the people of Rome were very ill willing to go: and on the other side, the Consuls being vpon going out of their office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time: so that the ambassadours of the Latines returned home againe, and did no good. Then Martius did besiege their cities, and hauing taken by force the townes of the Tolerinians, Vicanians, Pedanians, and the Bolanians, who made resistance, he sacked all their goods, and took them prisoners. Such as did yeeld themselves willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receiue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he took the city of Boles by assault, being about an hundred furlong from Rome, where he had a maruelous great spoile, and put euery man to the sword that was able to cary weapon. The other Volsces that were appointed to remaine in garrison for defence of their countrey, hearing this good newes, would tary no longer at home, but armed themselves, and ranne to Martius campe, saying they did acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all Italie, and euery one praised him for a valiant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, such and so strange euent fell out in the state. In this while, all went still to wracke at Rome. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious words, the Nobility against the people, and the people against the Nobility. Vntill they had intelligence at the length, that the enemies had laid siege to the city of Lavinium, in the which were all the temples and

images of the gods their protectours, and from whence came first their auncient originall, for that Æneas at his first arriuall into Italy did build that city. Then fell there out a maruellous sodaine change of mind among the people, and farre more strange and contrary in the Nobility. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile of Martius. The Senate assembled vpon it, would in no case yeeld to that. Who either did it of a selfe will to be contrary to the peoples desire : or because Martius should not returne thorough the grace and sauour of the people. Or else, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would set vpon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would shew himself an open enemy besides vnto his country : notwithstanding the most part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruellous ill part, and as if the iniury had bene done vnto themselves. Report being made of the Senates resolution, the people found theselues in a straight: for they could authorize and confirme nothing by their voices, vnlesse it had bene first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martius hearing this stirre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before : in-somuch as he raised his siege incontinently before the city of Lavinium, and going towards Rome, lodged his campe within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called Cluiliæ. His incamping so neare Rome, did put all the whole city in a wonderfull feare : howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissention betwixt the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Consull, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of Martius. When they saw the women in a maruellous feare, running vp and downe the citie: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wise or hardy to prouide for their safetie

then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home Martius againe, to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in maruellous great fault to be angry and in choller with him, when it stood them vpon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadors vnto him, to let him vnderstand how his countrey men did call him home againe, and restored him to all his goods, and besought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambassadours that were sent, were Martius familiar friends and acquaintances, who looked at the least for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinsman. Howbeit they found nothing lesse: for at their comming, they were brought through the camp, to the place where he was set in his chaire of state, with a maruellous and an vnspeakable maiesty, hauing the chieffest men of the Volsces about him: so he commaunded them to declare openly the cause of their comming. Which they deliuered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could deuise, and with all modest countenance and behauour agreeable to the same. When they had done their message: for the iniury they had done him, he answered them very hotly, and in great choller: but as Generall of the Volsces, he willed them to restore vnto the Volsces, all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreouer, that they should giue them the like honour and freedome of Rome, as they had before giuen to the Latines. For otherwise they had no other meane to ende this warre, if they did not graunt these honest and iust conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirtie days respit to make him answeare. So the ambassadours returned straight to Rome, and Martius forthwith departed with his armie out of the territories of the Romaines. This was the first matter wherewith the Volsces (that most enuied Martius glorie and authoritie) did charge

Martius with. Among those, Tullus was chiefe : who though he had receiued no priuate iniury or displeasure of Martius, yet the common fault and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his owne reputation blemished through Martius great fame and honour, and so himselfe to be lesse esteemed of the Volsces then he was before. This fell out the more, because euery nian honoured Martius, and thought he onely could do all, and that all other gouernours and captaines must be content with such credit and authoritie, as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they deriued all their first accusations and secret murmurings against Martius. For priuate captaines conspiring against him, were very angry with him : and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor forts, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great importance, because it was that which in reason might both loose and bind all, and preserue the whole. Now Martius hauing giuen the Romaines thirty dayes receipt for their answere, and specially because the warres haue not accustomed to make any great changes, in lesse space of time then that, he thought it good yet, not to lie asleepe and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the lands of the enemies allies, & tooke seuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the Romaines durst not once put themselues into the field, to come to their aide and helpe : they were so faint hearted, so mistrustfull, and loth besides to make warres. Insomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralyticke, and loosed of their limmes and members : as those which through the palsey haue lost all their sence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, Martius being returned into the dominions of the Romaines againe with all his armie, they sent another ambassade vnto him, to pray peace,

and the remoue of the Volsces out of their countrey : that afterwards they might with better leisure fall to such agreements together, as should be thought most meete and necessary. For the Romaines were no men that would euer yeeld for feare. But if he thought the Volsces had any ground to demaund reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably aske should be graunted vnto by the Romaines, who of themselues would willingly yeeld to reason, conditionally, that they did lay downe armes. Martius to that answered : that as Generall of the Volsces he would reply nothing vnto it : but yet as a Romaine citizen, he would counsell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise : and that they should returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had first deliuered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more giue them assurance or safe conduct to returne againe into his camp, with such vaine and friuolous messages. When the ambassadours were returned to Rome, and had reported Martius answer to the Senate : their citie being in extreame daunger, and as it were in a terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common prouerb saith) their holy anker. For then they appointed all the Bishops, Priests, Ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or soothsayers, which foreshew things to come by obseruation of the flying of birds (which is an old auncient kind of prophecy-ing and diuination amongst the Romaines) to go to Martius apparelled, as when they do their sacrifices : and first to intreate him to leaue off warre, and then that he would speak to his country men, and conclude peace with the Volsces. Martius suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or speak more curteously to them, then he did the first time

that they came vnto him, sauing onely that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the first conditions offered, or else to receiue warre. When all this goodly rabble of superstition and priestes were returned, it was determined in counsell that none should go out of the gates of the citie, and that they should watch and ward vpon the walles, to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them: referring themselues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise how to remedie the daunger. Now all the city was full of tumult, feare, and maruellous doubt what would happen: vntil at the length there fell out such a like matter, as Homer oft times said they would least haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldome, Homer saith, and crieth out in this sort:

*The goddesse Pallas she, with her faire glistering eyes,
did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him
so deuise.*

And in another place.

*But sure some god hath tane out of the peoples mind,
both wit and vnderstanding eke, and haue therewith
assignd
some other simple spirit, in stead thereof to bide,
that so they might their doings all, for lacke of wit
misguide.*

And in another place.

*The people of themselues did either it consider,
or else some god instructed them, and so they ioyn'd
together.*

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters vnpossible, and fables of no likelihood or troth, vnto mans reason, freewill, or iudgement: which in deed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he

maketh to depend of our owne free will and reason.
For he oft speaketh these words—

I haue thought it in my noble heart :

And in another place :

*Achilles angry was, and sorry for to heare
him so to say, his heauy breast was fraught with
pensiuue feare.*

And againe in another place :

*Bellerophon (she) could not moue with her faire tongue,
so honest and so vertuons, he was the rest among.*

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by secret inspirations & motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choise and freedome of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth work desire in vs, but obiecteth to our minds certaine imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For, either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparant that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or caried away by such obiects and reasons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the Romaine Ladies and gentlewomen did visit all the temples and gods of the same, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of Iupiter Capitolin, among which troupe by name, was Valeria, Publicolaes owne sister. The self same Publicola, who did such not-

able seruice to the Romaines, both in peace and warres: and was dead also certaine years before, as we haue declared in his life. His sister Valeria was greatly honored and revered among all the Romaines: and did so modestly and wisely behaue her selfe, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came off. So she sodainely fell into such a fancy, as we haue rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I think) taken hold of a noble deuise. Whereupon she rose and the other Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius mother: and comming in to her, found her, and Martius wife her daughter in law set together, and hauing her husband Martius yong children in her lap. Now all the traine of these Ladies sitting in a ring round about her, Valeria first began to speake in this sort vnto her: We Ladies, are come to visit you Ladies (my Lady Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other Magistrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god aboue: who hauing taken compassion and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficial for vs, as also for the whole citizens in generall: but to your selues in speciall (if it please you to credit me) and shall redound to our more fame and glory, then the daughters of the Sabyne obtained in former age, when they procured louing peace, in stead of hatefull warre, betweene their fathers and their husbands. Come on good Ladies, and let vs go all together vnto Martius, to intreat him to take pitie vpon vs, and also to report the troth vnto him, how much you are bound vnto the citizens: who notwithstanding they haue sustained great hurt and losses by him, yet they haue not hitherto sought reuenge vpon your persons by any discourteous vsage, neither euer conceiued any such

thought or intent against you, but do deliuer you safe into his hands, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemencie from him. When Valeria had spoken this vnto them, all the other Ladies together with one voice confirmed that she had said. Then Volumnia in this sort did answere her: My good Ladies, we are partakers with you of the common misery and calamitie of our countrey, and yet our grieffe exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune: to feele the losse of my son Martius former valiancy and glory, and to see his person enuironed now with our enemies in armes, rather to see him forth comming & safe kept, then of any loue to defend his person. But yet the greatest grieffe of our heaped mishaps is, to see our poore countrey brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preseruatiō thereof, is now vnfortunatly cast vpon vs simple women: because we know not what account he will make of vs, since he hath cast from him all care of his naturall countrey and common-weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deare and precious, then either his mother, wife or children. Notwithstāding, if ye think we can do good, we will willingly do what you wil haue vs: bring vs to him I pray you. For if we cānot preuaile, we may yet die at his feet, as humble suters for the safety of our country. Her answer ended, she took her daughter in law, and Martius children with her, and being accompanied with all the other Romaine Ladies, they went in troupe together vnto the Volsces campe: whom when they saw, they of themselues did both pitie and reuerence her, and there was not a man among them that once durst say a word vnto her. Now was Martius set then in his chaire of State, with all the honours of a General, and when he had spied the women comming a far off, he maruelled what the matter meant: but afterwards knowing his wife which

came formost, he determined at the first to persist in his obstinate and inflexible rancor. But ouercome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to see them, his heart would not serue him to tarie their comming to his chaire, but comming down in hast, he went to meet them, and first he kissed his mother, and imbraced her a prety while, then his wife and litle children. And nature so wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eies, and he could not keep himself from making much of them, but yeilded to the affection of his bloud, as if he had bene violently caried with the fury of a most swift running streame. After he had thus louingly receiued them, and perceiuing that his mother Volumnia would begin to speake to him, he called the chiefest of the counsell of the Volsces to heare what she would say. Then she spake in this sort: If we held our peace (my sonne) and determined not to speake, the state of our poore bodies, and present sight of our raiment, would easily bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad, but think now with thy selfe, how much more vnfortunately then all the women liuing, we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spitefull fortune hath made most fearefull to vs: making my selfe to see my sonne, and my daughter here, her husband, besieging the walles of his natiue countrey: so as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their aduersitie and miserie, to pray vnto the gods, and to call to them for aide: is the onely thing which plungeth vs into most deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory, for our countrey, and for safety of thy life also: but for a world of grieuous curses, yea more then any mortall enemy can heape vpon vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife

and children, to forgo one of the two : either to loose the person of thy self, or the nurse of their native country. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tary, till fortune in my life time do make an end of this warre. For if I cannot perswade thee, rather to do good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrow and destroy the one, preferring loue and nature, before the malice and calamity of warres : thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust vnto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy country, but thy foote shall tread vpon thy mothers wombe, that brought thee first into this world. And I may not deferre to see the day, either that my sonne be led prisoner in triumph by his naturall countreyemen, or that he himselfe do triumph of them, and of his naturall country. For if it were so, that my request tended to saue thy countrey, in destroying the Volscs : I must confesse, thou wouldst hardly and doubtfully resolute on that. For as to destroy thy naturall country, it is altogether vnmeet and vnlawfull : so were it not iust, and lesse honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my onely demaund consisteth, to make a gaile-delivery of all euils, which deliuereth equall benefite and safety, both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volscs. For it shall appeare, that hauing victory in their hands, they haue of speciall fauour granted vs singular graces, peace, and amity, albeit themselues haue no lesse part of both, then we. Of which good, if so it came to passe, thy selfe is the onely author, and so hast thou the only honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrary : thy self alone deservedly shalt carie the shamefull reproch and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war be vncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain : that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou reape of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled

the plague and destroyer of thy countrey. And if fortune also ouerthrow thee, then the world will say, that through desire to reuenge thy priuate iniuries, thou hast for euer vndone thy good friends, who did most louingly and courteously receiue thee. Martius gaue good eare vnto his mothers words without interrupting her speech at all : and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a pretty while, and answered not a word. Hereupon she began againe to speak vnto him, and said : My sonne, why doest thou not answer me ? doest thou think it good altogether to giue place vnto thy choller and desire of reuenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty for thee to graunt thy mothers request, in so weighty a cause ? dost thou take it honorable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and iniuries done him : and doest not in like case think it an honest noble mans part, to be thankful for the goodnes that parents do shew to their children, acknowledging the duty & reuerence they ought to beare vnto them ? No man living is more bound to shew himselfe thankfull in all parts and respects then thy self : who so unnaturally shewest al ingratitude. Moreouer (my son) thou hast sorely taken of thy country, exacting grieuous payments vpon thē, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee : thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore mother any curtesie. And therefore, it is not onely honest, but due vnto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my so iust and reasonable request of thee. But since by reason I cannot perswade thee to it, to what purpose do I defer my last hope ? And with these words, her self, his wife & children, fell downe vpon their knees before him. Martius seeing that, could refraine no longer, but went straight and lift her vp, crying out : Oh mother, what haue you done to me ? And holding her hard by the right hād, oh mother, said he, you have won a happy victory for your

country, but mortall and vnhappy for your son: for I see my self vanquished by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spake a litle apart with his mother & wife, & then let them returne again to Rome, for so they did request him: and so remaining in campe that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homewards into the Volsces countrey againe, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had done: other being well pleased that peace should be made, said: that neither the one, nor the other, deseured blame nor reproch. Other though they misliked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but said: he was not to be blamed, though he yeelded to such a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but al obeied his commandemēt, more for respect of his worthinesse and valiancy, then for feare of his authoritie. Now the citzens of Rome plainly shewed, in what feare and danger their city stood of this war, when they were deliuered. For so soon as the watch vpon the wals of the city perceiued the Volsces camp to remoue, there was not a temple in the city but was presently set open, & ful of mē, wearing garlands of flowres vpon their heads sacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vpon the newes of some great obtained victory. And this common ioy was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their Ladies. For they were all throughly perswaded, and did certainly belecue, that the Ladies only were cause of the sauing of the city, and deliuering themselues from the instant daunger of the warre. Whereupon the Senate ordained that the Magistrates to gratifie and honour these Ladies, should graunt them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple

of Fortune of the women, for the building whereof they offered themselues to defray the whole charge of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the seruice of the gods. Neverthelesse, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardnesse, ordained, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the citie. Notwithstanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune, which the Romaines say did speake as they offred her vp in the temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirme, that she spake these words: Ladies, ye haue deuoutly offered me vp. Moreouer, that she spake that twise together, making vs to beleeeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or bloudie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wood and stone do commonly receiue certaine moisture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which do yeeld of themselues, or do take of the aire, many sorts and kinds of spots and colours: by which signes and tokens it is not amisse me thinke, that the gods sometimes do warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statutes do sometimes put forth sounds, like vnto sighes or mourning, when in the midst or bottom of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking asunder of things, blowne or deuised therein: but that a bodie which hath neither life nor soule, should haue any direct or exquisite word formed in it by expresse voice, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god himselfe can distinctly speake without a bodie, hauing necessarie organes and instruments meete for the parts of the same, to forme and vtter distinct words. But where stories many times do force vs to beleeeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies:

there we must say, that is some passion contrarie to our five naturall sences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue part or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we do in our sleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare : and we imagine we see that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously giuen to thinke on heauenly things, so as they can no way be drawne from beleeuing that which is spoken of them, they haue this reason to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the omnipotencie of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no maner of resemblance or likenesse of proportion vnto ours, but it is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our moouing, our art, and our force : and therefore if he do anything vnpossible to vs, or do bring forth and deuise things, aboue mans common reach and vnderstanding, we must not therefore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrary to vs, much more in his workes and secret operations, he far passeth all the rest : but the most part of Gods doings, as Heraclitus saith, for lack of faith, are hidden and vnknowne vnto vs. Now when Martius was returned againe into the city of Antium from his voyage, Tullus that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare of his authoritie, sought diuers meanes to make him away, thinking if he let slip that present time, he should neuer recover the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore Tullus hauing procured many other of his confederacy, required Martius might be deposed from his estate, to render vp account to the Volsces of his charge and gouernement. Martius fearing to become a priuate man againe Tullus being Generall (whose authority was greater otherwise, then any other among all Volsces) answered : he was willing to giue vp his charge, and would resigne it into the hands of the

Lords of the Volsces, if they did all cōmaund him, as by all their commandement he receiued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuse euen at that present to giue vp an account vnto the people, if they would tary the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counsell, in which assembly there were certaine oratours appointed, that stirred vp the common people against him: and when they had told their tales, Martius rose vp to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valiantnesse, they quieted themselues, and gaue him audience to alleage with leisure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honestest men of the Antiates, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he did let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good seruice he had done to the people of the Volsces, did winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the citie of Rome, if they had not bene very neare taking of it, by meanes of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not suffer a traitour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the

Volsces, who would not yeeld vp his state and authorite. And in saying these words, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a cleare case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most part of the Volsces : for men came out of al parts to honour his bodie, and did honourably burie him ; setting out his tombe with great store of armour and spoiles, as the tombe of a worthie person and great captaine. The Romaines vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, sauing that they graunted the ladies the request they made : that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed for to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius order, who stablished the same, as we haue enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being dead, the whole state of the Volsces heartily wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell out with the *Æqves* (who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminance and place : and this quarrell grew on so farre betweene them, that fraies and inurders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the Romaines ouercame them in battell, in which Tullus was slain in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sword : so that they were compelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themselues subiect vnto the conquerers, and promising to be obedient at their commaundement.



ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.





The Life of Marcus Antonius.

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[*From North's "Plutarch."*]

ANTONIUS grandfather was that famous Orator whom Marins slue because he tooke Syllaes part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan,¹ who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth : howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him vse his liberalitie and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to some money, hauing great need : Antonius by chaunce had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bring him some water in a siluer basin, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to haue shauen it, and then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gaue his friend the siluer basin, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stirre in the house

¹ Because that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunately made against those of Creta.

among the seruants, seeking out of this siluer basin. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife maruellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her seruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confessed he had giuen it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Iulia, of the noble house and family of Iulius Cæsar: who for her vertue and chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Ladie of her time. Marcus Antonius was brought vp under her, being married after her first husbands death, vnto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catilines conspiracie against the Commonwealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate Antonius bare vnto Cicero. For Antonius selfe saith, that he would neuer giue him the bodie of his father in law to burie him, before his mother went first to intreate Ciceroes wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by lawe. Now Antonius being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth: he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a dissolute man, giuen ouer to all lust and insolencie, who to haue Antonius the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vain expences vpon women, in rioting and banquetting. So that in short time, he brought Antonius into a maruellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit, of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which summe Curio was his suretie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts,

who bred great stirre and mischiefe in Rome : but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnesse and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italie, and went into Grece, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He vsed a maner of phrase in his speech, called *Asiatike*, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners & life : for it was full of ostentation, foolish brauery, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Proconsull going into Syria, perswaded him to go with him, Antonius told him he would not go as a priuate man : wherefore Gabinius gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against Aristobulus, who had made the Iewes to rebell, and was the first man himselve that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue Aristobulus out of all his holds : and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame all the Iewes in set battell, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke Aristobulus himselve prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards Ptolomy king of *Ægypt*, that had been driuen out of his country, went vnto Gabinius to intreat him to go with his army with him into *Ægypt*, to put him againe into his kingdome : and promised him if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to go thither, and Gabinius himselve made it dainty to enter into this warre : although the couetousnesse of these 10000 talents stucke sorely with him. But Antonius that sought but for oportunitie and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie Ptolomies request : he went about to perswade Gabinius to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid

of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelvsivm, then they feared any danger of the warre besides : because they were to passe through deepe sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes Serbonides, which the Ægyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the gyant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Ægypt with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the city of Pelvsivm (which is a great city) with all the souldiers in it : and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victory also certaine for his Captaine. Now did the enemies themselues feele the fruits of Antonius courtesie, and the desire he had to winne honour : for when Ptolomy (after he had entred into the city of Pelvsivm) for the malice he bare unto the citie, would haue put all the Ægyptians in it to the sword, Antonius withstood him, and by no meanes would suffer him to do it. And in all other great battels and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wise Captaine : but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giuing them the victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valiantnesse deserued. So was his great courtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto Archelaus : for hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he liued : but after his death he sought for his body, and gaue it honorable buriall. For these respects he wan himselfe great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all

the souldiers in the Romains campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooked nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in Hercules pictures, stamped or grauen in mettall. Now it had bene a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonij were descended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules, whereof the family tooke name. This opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likenesse of his body, as we haue sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shew himselfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassock girt downe low vpon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauoured cloake. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to iest with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike, it is incredible that wonderfull loue it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and aduancement, was his liberality, who gaue all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for himselfe: and when he was growne to great credite, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himselfe did ouerthrow, by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example onely of his wonderfull liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his money,

to giue a friend of his fise and twenty Myriades : which the Romains call in their tongue, Decies. His cofferer maruelling at it, and being angry withall in his mind, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shew him what a maruellous masse of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was : the cofferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then Antonius perceiuing the spite of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle : and therefore he gaue his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romains maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with Pompey being then in Rome : and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for Cæsar to aide them, who made wars in Gavle. Then Curio Antonius friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that time tooke part with Cæsar, whose enemy he had bene before : he wanne Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credite and sway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tounge : and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which Cæsar gaue him : that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to Cæsars practises. For so soone as Antonius became Tribune, he did oppose himselfe against those things which the Consull Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certaine legions which had bin already leauied and billed, should be giuen vnto Cneus Pompey, with further commission and authority to leaue others vnto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leauied and assembled, should be sent into Syria, for a new supply vnto Marcus Bibulus,

who made warre at that time against the Parthians. And further, gaue a prohibition that Pompey should leauy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not suffer Cæsars letters to be receiued, and openly read in the Senate: Antonius hauing power and warrant by his person, through the holinesse of his Tribuneship, did reade them openly, and made diuerse men chaunge their minds: for it appeared to them that Cæsar by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Cæsar, should leaue their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete Pompey should leaue his army, but they all in manner commaunded Cæsar to do it. Then Antonius rising vp, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cæsar both, should leaue their armies. Thereupon all the Senators iointly, together gaue their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Cæsars friends preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls draue Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grieuous curses against him. After that, he took a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to Cæsar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach. When they came to Cæsar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their minds, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as stood with law and iustice. Hereupon Cæsar incontinently went into Italie with his army, which made Cicero say in his Philippides: That as Hellen was cause of the warre

of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the ciuill warres, which indeed was a starke lye. For Cæsar was not so fickle headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddenly haue gone and made war with the countrey, vpon the sight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled to him in miserable apparell, and in a hired coach: had he not long before determined it with himselfe. But sith indeed Cæsar looked of long time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gaue him iust occasion of warre. But to say truly, nothing else moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but oneselfe cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to raigne, with a senselesse couetousnesse to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had first put downe Pompey, and vtterly ouerthrowne him. Now after that Cæsar had gotten Rome at his commandement, & had driuen Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to go into Spaine, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meane time to make prouision for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor, gouernor of Rome: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the souldiers, & of Italy. Then was Antonius straight maruellously cōmended and beloued of the souldiers, because he commonly exercised himselfe among them, and would sometimes eate and drinke with them, & also be liberall vnto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary manner, he purchased diuerse other mens euill wils, because that through negligence he would not do them iustice that were iniured, & dealt very churlishly with them that had any sute vnto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to intise men wiues. To conclude, Cæsars friends that gouerned vnder him,

were cause why they hated Cæsars gouvernement (which indeed in respect of himselfe was no lesse then a tyranny) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed : amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Cæsar notwithstanding, when he returned from the wars of Spaine, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp against him : but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefest affaires, and was no whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he passed ouer the Ionian sea vnto Brvndvsivm, being but slenderly accompanied : & sent vnto Antonius and Gabinius, that they should imbarke their men as soon as they could, and passe them ouer into Macedon. Gabinius was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter time : and therfore fetched a great compasse about by land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come vnto Cæsar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies : first of all he draue away Libo, who rode at anker with a great army, before the hauen of Brvndvsivm. For he manned out such a number of pinnaces, barkes, and other small boats about euery one of his galleys, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into ships 20000 footmen, and 800 horsemen, and with this army he hoised saile. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him : but the sea rose so high, that the billowes put backe their galleys that they could not come neare him, and so he scaped that danger. But withall he fell vpon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the sea wrought very high : so that he was out of all hope to saue himselfe. Yet by good fortune, suddenly the wind turned South-west, and blew from the gulfe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the maine sea. Thus Antonius loos-

ing from the land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he saw all the coasts full of shipwrackes. For the force and boysterousnesse of the wind, did cast away the galleys that followed him : of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and diuerse also cast away, and Antonius tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the city of Lyssvs, and brought Cæsar a great supply of men, and made him couragious, comming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were diuerse hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valliantly, that he caried the praise from them all: but specially at two seuerall times, when Cæsars men turned their backs, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the victory fell on Cæsars side. For this cause he had the second place in the campe among the souldiers, and they spake of no other man vnto Cæsar, but of him : who shewed plainely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last triall of all, to giue the conquerour the whole Empire of the world) he himselfe did leade the right wing of his army, and gaue Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest souldier of all those he had about him. After Cæsar had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey steppe by steppe: howbeit before he named Antonius Generall of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The Generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the city : but when he is abroad, he is the chieftest man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and a young man desir-

ous of change and innouation: he preferred a law which the Romaines call *Nouas tabulas* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialties, and were called New tables, because they were driuen then to make bookes of daily receipt and expence) and perswaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and tooke such a conceipt of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his cosin germane, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consull with Cicero: and ioyning with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market place where the people do assemble in councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to haue this law of the new tables to passe by force. Antonius by cōmandment of the Senate, who had giuen him authority to leauy men & to vse force against Dolabella: he went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But by this means, he got the ill will of the common people, and on the other side, the noble men (as Cicero saith) did not onely mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at vnseasonable times, and his extreme wastfull expences vpon vaine light huswiues, and then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his drunkennesse, thinking to weare away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken ouer night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, and maske: and himselfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish playes, and in marying these players, tumblers, gesters, and such sort of people. As for prooffe hereof it is reported, that at Hippias mariage,

one of his gesters, he dranke wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in councell, who had sent for him : he being quesie stomached with his surfeit he had taken, was compelled to ley vp all before them, and one of his friends held him his gowne instead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loued dearly : he caried her vp and downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting vpon her litter (she being but a player) as were attending vpon his owne mother. It grieved honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the country, he caried with him a great number of cupbords full of siluer and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had bene the pompe or shewe of some triumph : and that eftsoones in the midst of his iourney, he would set vp his hals and tents hard by some greene groue or pleasant riuer, & there his cookes should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnessed in trases to draw his carts : and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would haue common harlots, curtisans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieved men much, to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great war, with such great perill & danger, and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts vnto their citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracy against Cæsar increase more and more, and layed the reynes of the bridle vpon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore Cæsar after his returne pardoned Dolabella, and being created Consull the

third time, he tooke not Antonius, but chose Lepidus, his colleague and fellow Consull. Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it : but when they asked him money for it, he made it very strange, and was offended with them, and writeth himselfe that he would not go with Cæsar into the warres of Africke, because he was not well recompenced for the seruice he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did somewhat bridle his madnesse and insolency, not suffering him to pass his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he left his dissolute maner of life, and married Fulua that was Clodius widow, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery, and was not contented to maister her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaunded him, that commaunded legions and great armies : so that Cleopatra was to giue Fulua thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commaundement. Now, because Fulua was somewhat sower and crooked of condition, Antonius deuised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed : and therefore he would play her many prety youthfull parts, to make her merry. As he did once, when Cæsar returned the last time of all conquerour out of Spaine, euery man went out to meete him : and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sudden there ranne a rumour through Italy, that Cæsar was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereupon he returned with speed to Rome, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he had brought Fulua letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowne : but she taking the matter heauily, asked him if Antonius were well.

Antonius gaue her the letters, and sayd neuer a word. So when she had opened the letters and began to reade them: Antonius ramped of her necke, and kissed her. We haue told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Now when Cæsar was returned from his last warre in Spaine, all the chiefest nobility of the city, rode many dayes iourney from Rome to meet him, where Cæsar made maruellous much of Antonius, aboue al the mē that came vnto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his coach with him, throughout all Italy: and behind him, Brutus Albinus & Octavius, the son of his Neece, who afterwards was called Cæsar, and became Emperour of Rome long time after. So Cæsar being afterwards chosen Consull the fift time, he immediately chose Antonius his colleague and companion: and desired by deposing himselfe of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consull in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reuiled Dolabella in the Senate: and Dolabella also spared him as litle. Thereupon Cæsar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when Cæsar attempted againe to substitute Dolabella Consull in his place, Antonius cried out, that the signes of the birds were against it: so that at lēgth Cæsar was compelled to giue him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was maruellously offended with him. Now in truth, Cæsar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cæsar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella vnto him for some matter of conspiracy: Tush sayd he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine combed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him. Antonius vnwares afterwards, gaue Cæsars enemies iust occa-

sion & colour to do as they did : as you shall heare. The Romaines, by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, & Cæsar being appparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they vse to make their Orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The maner of this running was this. On that day there are many yong men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe officers for that yeare : who running naked vp & downe the city annointed with the oile of oliue, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. Antonius being one among the rest that was to run, leauing the ancient ceremonies and old customes of that solemnity : he ran to the Tribune where Cæsar was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient marke and token of a king. When he was come to Cæsar, he made his fellow runners with him lift him vp, and so he did put this laurel crowne vpon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserued to be king. But Cæsar making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so reioyced at it, that they al clapped their hands for ioy. Antonius againe did put it on his head : Cæsar againe refused it, and thus they were striuing off & on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it : and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subiects should do by commandement of their kings : and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the vtter destructiō of their liberty. Cæsar in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the collar of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it

naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurell crowne was afterwards put vpon the head of one of Cæsars statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turne them out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a cōsort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise : but yet stood doubtfull whether they should make Antonius priuy to it, or not. All the rest liked of it, sauing Trebonius only. He told thē, that when they rode to meet Cæsar at his returne out of Spaine, Antonius & he alwayes keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a far off : but Antonius finding his meaning, would hearken no more vnto it, and yet notwithstanding neuer made Cæsar acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to himselfe. After that they cōsulted whether they should kill Antonius with Cæsar. But Brutus would in no wise consent to it, saying : that ventring on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law & iustice, it ought to be cleare from all villany. Yet they fearing Antonius power, & the authority of his office, appointed certaine of the conspiracy, that when Cæsar were gone into the Senate, & while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe Antonius in a talk out of the Senate-house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed : and Cæsar was slaine in the midst of the Senate. Antonius being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, & hid himselfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man else, & that they went only into the Capitol : he sent his son vnto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The selfe same

day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bad Brutus. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and Antonius himselfe preferred a law, that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint prouinces, vnto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancell none of Cæsars lawes. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praised, and better esteemed, than euer man was: because it seemed to euery man that he had cut off all occasion of ciuill wars, & that he had shewed himselfe a maruellous wise gouernor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceiued of himselfe after he had a litle felt the goodwill of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himselfe the chiefeest man if he might ouercome Brutus: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when Cæsars body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funerall Oration in cōmendation of Cæsar, according to the ancient custome of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare Cæsar spoken of, & his praises vttered: he mingled his Oration with lamentable words, & by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts & affections vnto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his Oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, & called the malefactors, cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put he people into such a fury, that they presently tooke Cæsars body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables and fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ranne to the murtherers houses to set them on fire, & to make them come out

to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driuen to flie the city. Then came all Cæsars friends vnto Antonius, & specially his wife Calpurnia putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her mony into his house, which amounted to the sum of 4000 talents, & furthermore brought him all Cæsars bookes and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done & ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, & deliuered those that were prisoners: and then he sayd that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Cæsar. Therefore the Romaines mocking them that were so moued, they called them Charonites: because that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to say, that thus they were found in Cæsars memorials, who had sailed in Charons boate, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consull, and Caius one of his brethren Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the yonger came to Rome, who was the son of Iulius Cæsars Neece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remaining at the time of the death of his great Vnkle that was slaine, in the city of Apollonia. This yong man at his first arriuall went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Cæsars friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hand with him for mony and other things which were left of trust in his hands, because Cæsar had by will bequeathed vnto the people of Rome, threescore and fiteene siluer Drachmaes to be given to euery man, the which he as heire stood charged withall. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of

him, because he was very yong: and sayd he lacked wit, and good friends to aduise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to vndertake to be Cæsars heire. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the readie money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when Octavius Cæsar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chaire of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour Cæsar with: he threatened to send him to prison, and moreouer desisted not to put the people in an vprore. This young Cæsar seeing his doings, went vnto Cicero, and others, which were Antonius enemies, and by them crept into fauour with the Senate: and he himselfe sought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the old souldiers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in diuerse cities and colonies. Antonius being affraid of it, talked with Octavius in the Capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a strange dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in waite to kill him. Cæsar cleared himselfe vnto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius beleue the contrarie. Whereupon they became further enemies than euer they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through Italie, that were dispersed in diuerse townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions on their side, which were already in armes. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chieftest man of authoritie and estimation in the city, he stirred vp all

men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Cæsar Sergeants to cary axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consull or Prætor: and moreouer, sent Hircius and Pansa, then Consuls, to driue Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls together with Cæsar, who also had an armie, went against Antonius that besieged the citie of Modena, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. Antonius flying upon this ouerthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chieftest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would ouercome any aduersity, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more constant shewed he himself. Euery man that feeleth want or aduersity, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are ouerlaid with extremity, & be sore oppressed, few haue the harts to follow that which they praise & commend, and much lesse to auoid that they reprove and mislike: but rather to the contrary, they yeeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faint hart, and lacke of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therfore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought vp in all finenesse & superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eate wilde fruits & roots: and moreouer it is reported, that euen as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barks of trees, and such beasts as neuer man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to ioine with the legions that were on the other side of the mountains, vnder Lepidus charge: whom Antonius tooke to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Cæsar's hand, through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped

hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter himselfe, and to go vnto Lepidus. Since the ouerthrow he had at Modena, he suffered his beard to grow at length and neuer clipt it, that it was maruelous long, & the haire of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of Lepidus camp. Then he began to speake vnto the souldiers, and many of them their hearts yerned for pity to see him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be affraid, and therefore commaunded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the souldiers eares, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius and Lælius meanes, whom they sent vnto him disguised in womens apparell, and gaue him counsell that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receiue him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius wold not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a foord, at a litle riuier that ranne betweene them: and himselfe was the formost man that tooke the riuier to get ouer, seeing a number of Lepidus campe that gaue him their hands, plucked vp the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trench to let him into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commandement: he vsed Lepidus very courteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue Lepidus the name and honor of the Captaine. Munatius Plancus, lying also in campe hard by with an army: vnderstanding the report of Antonius curtesie, he also came and

ioyned with him. Thus Antonius being a foot againe, and growne of great power, repasse ou er the Alpes, leading into Italie with him seuateene legions, and ten thousand horsemen, besides sixe legions he left in garrison among the Gavles, vnder the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drinke lustily with him, and therefore in mockerie was surnamed Cotylon, to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Cæsar would not leane to Cicero, when he saw that his whole trauell and indeuor was only to restore the commonwealth to her former libertie. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an Iland enuironed round about with a litle riuer, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did deuide all the Empire of Rome betweene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and saue their kinsemen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their greedie desire to be reuenged of their enemies, they spurned all reuerence of bloud, and holinesse of friendship at their feet. For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius also forsooke Lucius Cæsar, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his owne brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirme, that Cæsar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slaine, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnaturall, and crueller chaunge then this was. For thus changing murther for murther, they did aswell kill those whom they did forsake and leaue vnto others, as those also which others left vnto them to kill: but so much more was their wickednes and crueltie great vnto their friends,

for that they put them to death being innocents, and hauing no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed vpon betweene them: the soldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and Cæsar should marie Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia and Antonius wife. This mariage also being agreed vpon, they condemned 300. of the chiefest citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded thē to whom he had giuen commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) against Antonius. So when the murderers brought him Ciceroes head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, and laughed hartily, and that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations, (where when he was aliue, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his owne fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamie) a cruell man, and vnworthy the office and authority he bare. His vncke Lucius Cæsar also, as they sought for him to kill him, & followed him hard, fled vnto his sister. The murderers coming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, she stood at her chamber doore with her armes abroad, crying out still: You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of these Triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romaines, for diuers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder then Cæsar, & one of more power and force then Lepidus, gaue himselfe againe to his former riot and excesse, when he left to deale in the affaires of the cōmon-

wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modestie, and ciuill life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates cōmonly shut against the Captains, Magistrates of the city, and also Ambassadors of strange nations which were sometimes thrust from the gates with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, iesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzling, and that on them he bestowed the most part of his mony he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery and pollicie. For they did not only sell by the cryer the goods of those whom they had outlawed and appointed to murder, slanderously deceiued the poore widowes and yong orphanes, & also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies and taxes: but vnderstanding also that the holy vestall Nuns had certain goods and mony put in their custody to keep, both of mens in the city, and those also that were abroad: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. Octavius Cæsar perceiuing that no mony would serue Antonius turne, he prayed that they might deuide the mony between them, and so did they also deuide the armie, for them both to go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meane time they left the gouernement of the citie of Rome vnto Lepidus. When they had passed ouer the seas, and that they began to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus: Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the first battell Cæsar was ouerthrowne by Brutus, and lost his campe, and very hardly saued himselfe by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth him-

selfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was given, because of a dreame one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side ouerthrew Cassius in battell, though some write that he was not there himselfe at the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull seruant of his owne called Pindarus, whom he had infranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had ouercome Cæsar. Shortly after they fought another battell againe, in the which Brutus was ouerthrowne, who afterwards also slue himselfe. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glorie of all this victorie, specially because Cæsar was sicke at that time. Antonius hauing found Brutus bodie after this battell, blaming him much for the murther of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for reuenge of Ciceroes cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius then in him: he made Hortensius to be slaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore he cast his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and sumptuous) vpon Brutus bodie, and gaue commaundement to one of his slaues infranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards Antonius hearing that his infranchised bondman had not burnt his coat-armour with his bodie, because it was very rich, and woorth a great sum of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the readie money appointed for the funerall and tombe: he also put him to death. After that, Cæsar was conueyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor escape the sicknesse he had. Antonius on the other side went towards the East prouinces and regions to leaue money: and first of all he went into Grece, and caried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because euery souldier was promised fve thousand siluer Drachams, he was driuen of

necessitie to impose extreme tallages and taxations. At his first comming into Grece, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the Grecians, but gaue himselfe onely to heare wise men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Grece, ministring iustice to euery man, and it pleased him maruellously to heare them call him Philellen, (as much to say, A louer of the Grecians) and specially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight: they prayed him to come and see their Senat house and councell hall. Antonius went thither to see it. So whē he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him : My Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (quoth he) it is litle, old, and readie to fall downe. Furthermore he tooke measure of the temple of Appollo Pythias, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, hauing left Lucius Censorinus Gouvernor in Grece, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out, and that Queenes and Princesses to excell one another, gaue him very rich presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselues, and vsing all art that might be to shew their beautie, to win his fauour the more : (Cæsar in the meane space turmoiling his wits and bodie in ciuill wars at home, Antonius liuing merily and quietly abroad) he easily fell againe to his old licentious life. For straight, one Anaxenor a player of the citherne, Xoutus a player of the flute, Metrodornos a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in finenesse and flatterie passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italie) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway : and after that, all went awry. For euery

one gaue themselves to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it : and all Asia was like to the citie Sophocles speaketh of in one of his Tragedies :

*Was full of sweet perfumes, and pleasant songs,
With wofull weeping mingled there amongs.*

For in the citie of Ephesvs, women attired as they go in the feasts and sacrifice of Bacchus, came out to meete him with such solemnities and ceremonies, as are then vsed : with men and children disguised like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the citie was full of Iuie, and darts wreathed about Iuie, psalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their songs they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous and gentle : and so was he vnto some, but to the most part of men, cruell and extreame. For he robbed Noblemen and Gentlemen of their goods, to giue it vnto vile flatterers : who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gaue a citizens house of Magnesia vnto a cooke, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second vpon Asia. But then Hybræas the Orator sent from the estates of Asia, to tel him the state of their countrie, boldly said vnto him : If thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yeare vpon us, thou shouldest also haue power to giue vs two Sommers, two Autumnes, and two Haruests. This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken vnto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it : but afterwards amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose : Asia hath payed the two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then aske account of them that leuied it : but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vtterly vndone. Hybræas words netled Antonius roundly. For he vnderstood not of the

thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affairs : not so much because he was carelesse, as for that he ouer simply trusted his men in al things. For he was a plaine man, without subtiltie, and therfore ouer late found out the foule faults they committed against him : but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confesse it vnto them whom his officers had done iniurie vnto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers : and yet he did exceed more in giuing, than in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly vsed, mocking and flouting of euery man, that was remedied by it selfe : for a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mocke others : but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly, and truly in mirth : would neuer flatter him in good earnest in any matter of weight. But thus he was easily abused by the praises they gaue him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flatterie, under this familiar and plaine maner of speech vnto him, as a fine deuise to make difference of meats with sharpe and tart sauce, and also to keepe him by this franck ieasting and bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome vnto him, as men do easily mislike to haue too much of one thing : & that they handled him finely thereby, when they would giue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and vnderstood not so much as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stir vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were

neuer seene to any : and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. Antonius going to make war with the Parthians, sent to commaund Cleopatra to appeare personally before him when he came into Cilicia, to answer vnto such accusations as were laid against her, being this : that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their warre against him. The messenger sent vnto Cleopatra to make this summons vnto her, was called Dellius : who when he had thoroughly considered her beautie, the excellent grace and sweetnesse of her tounge, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a Lady, but rather assured himself, that within few daies she should be in great fauour with him. Therupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into Cilicia, as honourably furnished as she could possible, and bad her not to be affraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that she had euer seene. Cleopatra on the other side beleeuing Dellius words, and guessing by the former accesse and credit she had with Iulius Cæsar, and C. Pompey (the Son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty : she began to haue good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a yong thing, & knew not then what the world meant : but now she went to Antonius at the age when a womans beauty is at the prime, and she also of best iudgment. So she furnished her selie with a world of gifts, store of gold and siluer, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring frō so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a realme as Ægypt was. But yet she caried nothing with her wherin she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchaunt-

ment of her passing beautie and grace. Therfore when she was sent vnto by diuerse letters, both from Antonius himselfe, and also from his friends, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the riuer of Cyndus, the poepe whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the oares of siluer, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, cithernes, vials, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was layed vnder a pauillion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse Venus, commonly drawne in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as Painters do set foorth god Cupid, with litle fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and Gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the Nimphes Nereides (which are the Myrmaides of the waters, and like the Graces, some steering the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweet sauour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongst the riuer side: others also ran out of the citie to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ranne such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to giue audience: and there went a rumour in the peoples mouths, that the goddesse Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus for the generall good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to inuite her to supper to him. But she sent him word againe, he should do better rather to come and suppe with her. Antonius therefore to shew

himselfe courteous vnto her at her arriual, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her : where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinit number of lights and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, giuing light in euery place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some square : that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer bookes could mention. The next night, Antonius feasting her, contented to passe her in magnificence and finenesse : but she ouercame him in both. So that he himselfe began to scorne the grosse seruice of his house, in respect of Cleopatraes sumptuousnesse and finenesse. And when Cleopatra found Antonius ieasts and slents to be but grosse, and souldier like, in plaine maner : she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet such, as vpon present view did enamour men with her : but so sweet was her companie and conuersation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beautie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quicke. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were maruellous pleasant : for her tong was an instrument of musick to diuers sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them answer her selfe, or at the least the most part of them : as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrewes, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitours, the kings of Ægypt, could scarce learne the Ægyptian tong onely, and many of

them forgot to speake the Macedonian. Now Antonius was so rauished with the loue of Cleopara, that though his wife Fulua had great wars, and much ado with Cæsar for his affaires, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the kings Lieutenants had giuen to the onely leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia, readie to inuade Syria: yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) he yeelded himself to go with Cleopatra into Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend, (as Antiphon saith) and that is, Time. For they made an order betweene them, which they called Amimetobion, (as much as say, No life comparable and matchable with it) one feasting each other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofoe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Phisitian, borne in the city of Amphissa, told him, that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Phisick: and that hauing acquaintance with one of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius house, (being a yong man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diuersities of meats, and amongst others, eight wild bores rosted whole: he began to wonder at it, and said: Sure you haue great number of guests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him: No (quoth he) not many guestes, nor aboue twelve in all: but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be serued in whole, or else it would be marred straight: for Antonius peraduenture will sup presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath drunke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dresse

one supper onely, but many suppers, because we are vncertaine of the houre he will suppe in. Philotas the Phisitian told my grandfather this tale, and said moreouer, that it was his chaunce shortly after to serue the eldest sonne of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulua : and that he sate commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine or suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisitian that was so full of wordes, that he made euery man wearie of him at the boord : but Philotas to stoppe his mouth, put out this subtile proposition to him : It is good in some sort to let a man drinke cold water that hath an ague : But euery man that hath an ague, hath it in some sort : Ergo, it is good for euery man that hath an ague to drink cold water. The Phisitian was so grauelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Yong Antonius burst out into such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said vnto him : Philotas, take all that, I giue it thee : shewing him his cupboord full of plate, with great pottes of gold and siluer. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberalitie, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue giuen so many things, and of so great value. But much more he maruelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe upon them, and to locke them vp. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reprobued if he tooke them. Then the young Gentleman Antonius said vnto him : Alas poore man, why doest thou make it nice to take them ? knowest thou not that it is the son of Antonius that giues them thee, and is able to do it ? if thou wilt not beleue me, take rather the readie money they come to : because my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the anticke and excellent work-

manship of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to Cleopatra. Plato writeth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but Cleopatra deuided it into many kinds. For she (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still deuised sundrie new delights to haue Antonius at commaundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or actiuitie of body. And sometime also, when he would go vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, and would peere into poore mens windows and their shops; and scold and braule with them within the house, Cleopatra would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble up and downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this iolitie, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and wisely: that Antonius shewed them a comicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the Romaines a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the foolish sports they made, reuelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will onely tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the water, and put a fish on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling rod, and so brought vp fish twise or thrise. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her own people, she told them how it was, and bad thē the

next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commaunded one of her men to diue vnder water before Antonius men, and to put some old salt-fish upon his bait, like vnto those that are brought out of the countrey of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hooke, Antonius thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said vnto him: Leaue vs (my Lord) Ægyptians (which dwell in the countrey of the Pharvs and Canobvs) your angling rod: this is not thy profession, thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and countries. Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulua his wife, fell out first betweene themselues, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen to flie out of Italie. The second newes, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the armie of the Parthians, from the riuier of Euphrates, and from Syria, vnto the countries of Iydia and Ionia. Then beganne Antonius with much ado, a litle to rouze himselfe, as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkennesse. So, first of all he bent himselfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the countrey of Phoenicia: but there he receiued lamētable letters from his wife Fulua. Wherupon he straight returned towards Italie, with two hundred saile; and as he went, tooke vp his friends by the way that fled out of Italie to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulua was the only cause of this war: who being of a peeuish, crooked, & troblesome

nature, had purposely raised this vprore in Italie, in hope therby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune, his wife Fulvia going to meete with Antonius sickened by the way, and died in the citie of Sicyone: and therefore Octavius Cæsar and he were the easilier made friends together. For when Antonius landed in Italie, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia: the friends of both parties would not suffer them to vnrippe any old matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse betweene them: but they made them friends together, and deuided the Empire of Rome betweene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their diuision. For they gaue all the Prouinces Eastward vnto Antonius: and the countries Westward vnto Cæsar, and left Africke vnto Lepidus: and made a lawe, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselues. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia; and Cæsar himselfe afterwards of Accia. It is reported, that he dearely loued his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had bene widower euer since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, neither did he confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this Ægyptian Cleopatra. Therupon euery man did set forward this mariage, hoping therby that this Ladie Octavia, hauing an excellent grace, wisdom and

honestie, ioyned vnto so rare a beautie, that when she were with Antonius (he louing her as so worthie a Ladie deserueth) she should be a good meane to keepe good loue and amitie betwixt her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widowe should be married within ten months after her husbands death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into Italie with a great number of pinnaces and other pyrates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pyrates, Menas and Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a saile. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had curteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of Italie with Fulvia : and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea : Pompey hauing his shippes riding hard by at anker, and Antonius and Cæsar their armies vpon the shore side, directly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should haue Sicile and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withall, that he should send a certaine of wheate to Rome : one of them did feast another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was Pompeius chaunce to inuite them first. Wherupon Antonius asked him : and where shall we sup? There, said Pompey, and showed him his Admirall gallie which had six banckes of oares : That (said he) is my fathers house they haue left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his fathers house, that was

Pompey the Great. So he cast ankers enow into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to conuey them to his galley, from the head of mount Misena : and there he welcommed them, and made them great cheare. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius loue vnto Cleopatra : Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his eare, said unto him : Shall I cut the cables of the anchors, & make thee Lord not only of Sicile & Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides? Pompey hauing pawsed awhile vpon it, at length answered him : Thou shouldst haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we must content us with what we haue : as for my selfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, & then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, & to keepe them they shold come no further : and he himselfe in the meane time, to gratifie Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Iulius Cæsars priest & sacrificer, and so they ioyntly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other : Antonius was euer inferior vnto Cæsar, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a Soothsayer or Astronomer of Ægypt, that could cast a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainely, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by Cæsars fortune : and therefore he counselled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. For thy Demon,

said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that keepeth thee) is affraid of his : and being courageous & high when he is alone, becommeth fearefull and timorous when he cometh near vnto the other. How-soeuer it was, the euent ensuing proued the Ægyptians words true : for it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who shold haue any thing, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another : Cæsars cockes or quailles did euer ouercome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it : and therefore he beleued the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house vnto Cæsar, and went out of Italy with Octauia his wife, whō he caried into Grece, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying al the winter at Athens, newes came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had ouercome the Parthians in battell, in the which also were slaine Labienus and Pharnabates, the chieftest Captaine king Orodes had. For these good news he feasted all Athens, & kept open house for all the Grecians, and many games of price were plaid at Athens, of the which he himself would be iudge. Wherefore leauing his guard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the shew place or lists (where these games were plaid) in a long gown and slippers after the Grecian fashion, and they caried tipstaues before him, as Martials men do carie before the Iudges to make place : and he himselfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsydra, because of an Oracle he had receiued that so commanded him. In the meane time, Ventidius once again ouercame

Pacorus (Orodes son king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the Country of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great army to inuade Syria: at which battell was slaine a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the kings owne sonne. This noble exploit as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romaines, of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to keepe themselues within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia & Media, after they had thrise together bene ouercome in seuerall battells. Howbeit Ventidius durst not vndertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should haue gotten Antonius displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, & conquered them againe: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus, king of Commagena, who offered him to giue a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebelliō, and promised euer after to be at Antonius commandement. . But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send vnto Antonius, who was not farre off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this litle exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they could not be receiued vpon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet receiued great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens; and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserued, he sent him to Rome, to

triumph for the Parthians. Ventidius was the onely man that euer triumphed of the Parthians vntill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house or family: who only came to that he attained vnto, through Antonius friendship, the which deliuered him happy occasion to atchieue to great matters. And yet to say truly, he did so well quit himselfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by themselves. For Sossius one of Antonius Lieutenants in Syria, did notable good seruice: and Canidius whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also ouercome the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of Antonius power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding, grew to be maruellously offended with Cæsar, vpon certaine reports that had bene brought vnto him: and so tooke sea to go towards Italy with three hundred saile. And because those of Brvndvsium would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went farther vnto Tarentvm. There his wife Octauia that came out of Grece with him, besought him to send her vnto her brother, the which he did. Octauia at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in iourney, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and vnfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, euery mans eyes do gaze on me, that am the

sister of one of the Emperours, and wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place, (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to warres : for your selues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue assigned the victorie or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which side soeuer victorie fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These wordes of Octauia so softened Cæsars heart, that he went quickly vnto Tarentvm. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by land not to stirre, and so many shippes a floate in the roade, quietly and safe : and furthermore, the meeting and kindnesse of friends, louingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he graunted vnto for his sisters sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cæsar should giue Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians : and that Antonius should let Cæsar haue an hundred gallies armed with brazen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, Octauia obtained of her husband, twentie Brigantines for her brother : and of her brother for her husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leaue of each other, Cæsar went immediatly to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicilia into his hands. Antonius also leauing his wife Octauia and litle children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia : he went directly into Asia. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischiefe of Cleopatraes loue (which had slept a long time, and seemed to haue bene vtterly forgotten, and that Antonius had giuen place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soon as Antonius came neare vnto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato tearmeth it, that is so hard of raine (I meane the vnreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius head, al honest and commendable thoughts : for he sent Fonteius Capito to

bring Cleopatra into Syria : vnto whom, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things : but vnto that she had already, he added the Prouinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the Ile of Cyprvs, and a great part of Cilicia, and that countrie of Ivry, where the true balme is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabatheians do dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean. These great gifts much misliked the Romaines. But now, though Antonius did easily giue away great seigniories, realmes, and mightie nations vnto some priuate men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes : (as from Antigonus king of the Iewes, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had suffered like death) yet all this did not so much offend the Romaines, as the vnmeasurable honours which he did vnto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice and ill will towards him, because that Cleopatra hauing brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra, and gaue them to their surnames, the Sunne to the one, and the Moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine wordes, said, that the greatnesse and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romaines took, but where they gaue much : and Nobilitie was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of Kings, when they left of their seed in diuers places : and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children : but that he gaue it vnto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in diuerse places. Now when Phraortes had slaine his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdome : many

Gentlemen of Parthia forsooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Moneses a Nobleman, and of great authoritie among his countrimen, who came unto Antonius, that receiued him, and compared his fortune vnto Themistocles, & his owne riches and magnificence, vnto the kings of Persia. For he gaue Moneses 3. cities, Larissa, Arethvsa, & Hierapolis, which was called before Bombice. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, vpon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon Phraortes vnprovidid. For he sent vnto him, and told him that they would remaine good friends, & haue peace together, so he would but onely redeliuer the standards and ensignes of the Romaines, (which the Parthians had won in the battell where M. Crassus was slain) and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the mean time he sent Cleopatra backe into Ægypt and tooke his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there tooke a generall muster of all his army he had together, & of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandement to aide him, being a maruellous number: of the which the chieftest was Artauasdes, king of Armenia, who did furnish him with 6000. horsmen, and 7000. footmen. There were also of the Romaines about threescore thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gavls reckened for Romanes) to the number of 10000. and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckening together the horsmen and light armed footmen. This so great and puissant army (which made the Indians quake for feare, dwelling about the countrie of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble) serued him to no purpose, and all for the loue he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin this warre out of due time, and for hast to put all in hazard: being so rauished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her loue.

that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe, more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should haue wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long iourney they had made, hauing come eight thousand furlongs; and then at the beginning of the Spring to go and inuade Media, before the Parthians should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarie no longer, but led them forthwith vnto the prouince of Artropatene, leauing Armenia on the left hand, and forraged all the countrie. Furthermore, making all the hast he could, he left behind him engines of batterie which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram fourescore foot long) being things most necessarie for him, and the which he could not get againe for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high prouinces of Asia haue no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of batterie. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters and intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one Tatianus. Then he went to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chieftest & greatest citie the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was faine for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the wals of the citie, the which by litle and litle with great labor, rose to some height. In the mean time king Phraortes came down with a great army: who vnderstanding that Antonius had left his engines of batterie behind him, he sent a great

nūber of horsemen before, which enuironed Tatianus with all his cariage and slue him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people tooke these engines of batterie and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tooke also king Polemon. This discomfiture maruellously troubled all Antonius army, to receiue so great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their iourney: insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good successe of the Romaines: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himselfe the first procurer of this war and iourney. On the other side the Parthians came courageously vnto Antonius campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefeſt city, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or ensignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a daies iourney from his campe, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to giue him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed vp, as though he meant not to fight, but only to leade his men backe againe. Then he marched before the armie of the barbarous people, the which was martiald like a cressant or halfe Moone: and commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were near enough vnto their enemies to set vpon the voward, that then they should set spurres to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battell ray, beholding the countenance of

the Romaines as they marched : they appeared to be souldiers indeede, to see them march in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept their ranckes a litle space one from an other, not stragling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking neuer a word. But so soone as the alarme was giuen, the horsemen sodainly turned head vpon the Parthians, and with great cries gaue charge on them : who at the first receiued their charge couragiously, for they were ioyned nearer then within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to ioyne with them, shouting out aloude, and ratling of their armours : the Parthians horses and themselues were so affraid and amazed withall, that they turned taile and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end, al or the most part of this war. But after that his footmen had chased them fiftie furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrise as far, they found in all but thirtie prisoners taken, and about fourescore men only slaine : which did much discourage them, when they considered with themselues, that obtaining the victorie, they had slaine so few of their enemies : and when they were ouercome, they lost so many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning Antonius armie trussed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe : and by the way in their returne they met at first a few of the Parthians : then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, and troubled them on euery side, as freshly and couragiously, as if they had not bene ouerthrowne : so that the Romans very hardly got to their camp with safetie. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraatta, made a sally out vpon

them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and draue thē for feare from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell : and to the other nine, he caused them to haue barley giuen them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troublesome vnto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearefull. For Antonius could looke for no other of his side but famine : because he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great losse of his men. Phraortes on the other side, he knew well enough, that he could bring the Parthians to any thing else, but to lie in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affraid, that if the Romaines continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still : that his men wold forsake him, and specially because the time of the yeare went away apace, and the aire waxed cloudie and cold, in the equinoctiall Autumne. Thereupon he called to mind this deuise. He gaue the chiefest of his Gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romaines out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horse, or for other prouisiō : that they should not distresse them too much, but should suffer them to carie somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantnes and hardinesse, for the which their king did esteeme thē the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by litle and litle to come nearer vnto thē, and to talke with them a horsebacke, greatly blaming Antonius selfewill, that did not giue their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, then to saue the liues of so goodly a companie of valiant men : but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies

he could haue, to wit, winter and famine, the which they should hardly away withal, though the Parthians did the best they could to aide and accompany thē. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a litle plyant, for the good hope he had of his returne : but yet he would not send vnto the king of Parthia, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously vnto his men, whether they spake it of themselues, or that they were their masters words. When they told them the king himselfe said so, and did perswade them further not to feare or mistrust them : then Antonius sent some of his friends vnto the king, to make demand for the deliuerie of the ensignes and prisoners he had of the Romaines, since the ouerthrow of Crassus : to the end it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they should thinke he were glad that he might only scape with safetie out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him : that for the ensignes and prisoners he demanded, he should not breake his head about it : notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius, after he had giuen his men sometime to trusse vp their cariage, he raised his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertaine his souldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time : yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake vnto them at his remouing, but willed Domitius Ænobarbus to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdaine of them : but the most part of them presently vnderstood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to cary the like respect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto

them : and so they became the more obedient vnto him. So Antonius was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren countrey without wood. But there came a souldier to him, borne in the countrey of the Mardians, who by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himselfe very true & faithfull to the Romaines, in the battell where Antonius engines of battery & cariage were taken away. This man came vnto Antonius, to counsel him to beware how he went that way, & to make his army a prey, being heauily armed, vnto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should haue nothing to let thē, to compasse him round about : & that this was Phraortes fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions & curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he wold, in the plaines : howbeit, that he would guide him (if he thought good) another way on the right hand, through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he shold find great plenty of al things needfull for his armie. Antonius hearing what he said, called his counsell together to consult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loth to giue them cause to thinke he mistrusted them : and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things necessarie : therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The Mardian gaue himselfe to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the countrey of Armenia. So he guided the armie thus bound, two daies together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, Antonius thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as euery man listed. The Mar-

dian perceiuing that the dams of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they should haue passed ouer, & that the riuer had ouerflowne the bankes & drowned all the way they should haue gone: he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romaines for getting too far before them. Therupon he bad Antonius look to himselfe, & told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius hauing set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and slingmen to resist the enemies, & to driue thē backe: they descried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on euery side, & to breake their ranks, and their light armed men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the Romaines with their arrowes, and that they themselues were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets of lead: they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge; vntill that the horsmen of the Gavles turned their horses and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his armie, but both the flankes also with darts and slingmen, and made his armie march a square battell: commaunding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they should driue them back, but not follow them too farre. Thus the Parthians foure dayes after, seeing they did no more hurt to the Romaines, then they also receiued of them: they were not so hote vpon them, as they were commaunded, but excusing themselues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, Flauius Gallus, a valiant man of his charge, that had charge in the armie, came vnto Antonius to pray him to let him haue some mo of his light armed men thē were alreadie in the rereward,

and some of the horsemen that were in the vaward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set vpon the taile of the armie, and to skirmish with them: Flauius couragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and ioyne presently with their armie, for he ouer rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Captains that had the leading of the rereward, seeing Flauius stray too far from the army, they sent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himselfe the Treasurer, tooke the ensigne, & did what he could to make the ensigne-bearers returne backe, reuiling Flauius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperatnesse he caused many honest & valiant men to be both hurt and slaine to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned againe into the army, and Gallus still ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the vaward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing himselfe enuironed on all sides, he sent vnto the army, that they should come & aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where they should haue made head with the whole army vpon the Parthians, they sent him ayd by small companies: and when they were slaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastlinesse and lacke of consideration, they had like to haue made all the army fly, if Antonius himselfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the midst of thē that fled, vntill they came to front their enemies, and that they staid

them frō chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slaine no less than 3000 men, and 5000 besides brought sore hurt into the campe, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sicke and wounded, and for pitie sake he could not refraine from weeping : and they also shewing him the best countenance they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himselfe for them, most reuerently calling him their Emperor and Captaine : & that for themselues, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captaine that had so great and puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of the souldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great pains & trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerence they shewed vnto their Captaine, with a maruellous earnest loue and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines as souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme Antonius good will and fauor, aboue their owne life and safety, that in this point of martiall discipline, the ancient Romaines could not haue done any more. But diuerse things were cause thereof, as we haue told you before : Antonius nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to sport and to be merry in company : but specially the care he tooke at that time to helpe, visite, and lament those that were sicke and wounded, seeing euery man to haue that which was meet for him : that was of such force & effect, as it made them that were sicke and wounded to loue him better, & were more desirous to do him seruice, then those that were whole and

sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night long they kept the fields, & howered about the Romaines camp, thinking that they would presently flie, and then that they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians thē they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then 40000 horse, because their king sent thither euen the very guard about his person, as vnto a most certaine and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoile and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king himselfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battell. Then Antonius desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a black gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to thē: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therfore he put on his coat armor, & being so apparelled, made an Oration to his army: in the which he highly cōmended thē that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, & greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had ouercome, prayed him to be of good cheare: the other also to cleare themselves, willingly offered to take the lot of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwise, to receiue what kind of punishment it should please to lay vpon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift vp his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories, they wold now send him some bitter aduersity: then that all might light on himselfe alone, and that they would giue the victorie to the rest of his army. The next morning, they gaue better order on euerie side of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the

Parthians thought to returne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come, not to fight, but to spoile and make hauocke of all : when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other iauelins as the Romaines darted at them, & the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had dealt withall. Wherupon their harts began againe to faile them. But yet when the Romans came to go down any steepe hils or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romaines could go downe but faire and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the middest amongst them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and so set downe their shields before them : and they of the second ranke also couered them of the first ranke, and the third also couered the second, and so from ranke to ranke all were couered. Insomuch that this manner of couering and shading themselues with shields, was deuised after the fashion of laying tyles vpon houses, and to sight was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most strong defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth vpon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance of the Romaine souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort vpon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with trauell : they layed downe their bowes, and took their speares and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose vpon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them, they slue the formost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these dangers and lets, Antonius army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof

they suffered great famine : for they could haue but litle corne, and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it ; and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or else imployed to cary them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eight part of a bushell of wheat was sold for fifty Drachmaes, and they sold barley bread by the waight of siluer. In the end, they were compelled to liue of hearbs and rootes, but they found few of them that men do commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were neuer eaten before : among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and knew no manner of thing, but only busied himselfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bin a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the campe ouer, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another : but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only soueraigne remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men dye daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest : he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said : O ten thousand ! He had the valiantnesse of 10000 Grecians, in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrus : because they had come a farther iourney from Babylon, and had also fought against much moe enemies many times told, then themselues, and yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of

the army of the Romans, & contrarily that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and wellfavouredly beaten : they fell againe to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forrage, to seeke some corne, or other victuals, they would come to them as if they bene their friends, & shewed them their bowes vn bent, saying, that themselves also did returne home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they should yet haue certaine Medes that would follow them a dayes iourney or two, to keepe them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the high-ways, and so holding them with this talke, they gently took their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the Romaines began againe to thinke themselves safe. Antonius vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine country, because also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his hoast one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was cosin vnto Monæxes that fled vnto Antonius, and vnto whom he had giuen three cities. When he came to Antonius campe, he prayed them to bring him one that could speake the Parthian, or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a familiar of Antonius, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayd, that Monexes had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he had vsed this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountaines a far off, which he pointed vnto with his finger. Alexander answered he did. The Parthians (said he) do lye in ambush at the foot of those mountaines, vnder the which lieth a goodly plaine champion country : and they think that you being

deceiued with their crafty subtill words, will leaue the way of the mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himselfe to runne the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates hauing sayd, he departed. Antonius was maruellously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to heare what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered: that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had sayd. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambush of enemies in the valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine way, though it be stony and painefull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole daies traueilling without any water. So Antonius changing his first mind and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the mountaine way, commaunding euery man to provide himselfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to cary water in, some were driuen to fill their salets and murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought vnto the Parthians that they were remoued: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the Romans, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were euen done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs; and further, to see their enemies so suddenly at their backes, that made them vtterly dispaire: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to

drive their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The voward of the army by chance met with a riuer that was very cleare and cold water, but it was salt and venimous to drinke : for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunke it, and made them maruelous dry, and put them into a terrible ach and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But Antonius going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retraite to be sounded to call them backe that fought, and commanded the tents to be set vp, that the soldiers might yet haue shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner : the gentleman Mithridates before named, returned againe as before, and Alexander in like manner againe brought vnto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates aduised him, that after the army had reposed a litle, the Romaines should remoue forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the riuer : because the Parthians would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof vnto Antonius, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speed. So Antonius raised his campe being yet day light, & caused all his army to march, and the Parthians neuer troubled any of them by the way : but amongst themselues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were

villaines of their owne company, who cut their fellows throats for the mony they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they carried : and at length, they set vpon Antonius slaues that draue his owne sumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and rich plate in peeces, and deuided it among themselues. Thereupon all the campe was straight in tumult and vpror : for the residue of them were afraid it had bene the Parthians that had giuen them this alarme, and had put all the army out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaues infranchised that was of his guard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowne when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the heart, that they burst out a weeping for sorow. The Mardian also did comfort him, and assured that the riuier he sought for was hard by, & that he did gesse it by a sweet moyst wind that breathed vpon thē, and by the aire which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at liberty : & moreover, because that since they did set forward he thought they were neare their iourneys end, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, Antonius was enformed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetousnesse and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore Antonius to set his army againe in order, and to pacifie this vpror, sounded the trumpet that euery man should lodge. Now day began to breake, & the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the Parthians drew neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereupon the signall of

battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer themselues as they had done before with their shields, with the which they receiued and defended the force of the Parthians arrowes, who neuer durst any more come to handy strokes with them : and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they spied the riuier. There Antonius placed his armed men vpon the sands to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and first of all, got ouer his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies, had leisure inough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the Parthians saw the riuier, they vn bent their bowes, and bad the Romaines passe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valiantnesse. When they had all passed ouer the riuier at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward againe not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth day after this last battell, they came to the riuier of Araxes, which deuideth the countrey of Armenia from Media : the which appeared vnto them very dangerous to passe, for the depth & swiftnesse of the streame. And furthermore, there ran a rumor through the campe, that the Parthians lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set vpon them whilst they were troubled in passing ouer the riuier. But now, after they were all come safely ouer without any danger, and that they had gotten to their other side, into the prouince of Armenia : then they worshipped that land, as if it had bene the first land they had seene after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arriued in a safe and happy hauen : and the teares ran downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced each other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitfull countrey so plentifull of all things, after so great a famine and

want of all things : they so crammed themselues with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes & dropsies. There Antonius mustring his whole army, found that he had lost 20000 footmen, and 4000 horsemen, which had not all bene slaine by their enemies : for the most part of them died of sicknesse, making seuen and twenty dayes iourney, comming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and hauing ouercome the Parthians in eighteene seuerall battels. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase : and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia, had kept Antonius from ending this warre. For if the sixteene thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media, had bene at these battels, considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthian manner, and acquainted also with their fight : when the Romaines had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered themselues againe in force, neither durst they also haue returned to fight with them so often, after they had bene so many times ouerthrowne. Therefore, all those that were of any credite and countenance in the army, did perswade and egge Antonius to be reuenged of this Armenian king : but Antonius wisely dissembling his anger, he told them not of his trecherie, nor gaue him the worse countenance, nor did him lesse honour then he did before : because he knew his army was weake, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into Armenia with a great army, and so with faire words, and sweet promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come to him : whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romaines, and made them much to mislike it : when

they saw that for Cleopatraes sake he depriued his countrey of her due honour and glory, onely to gratifie the Ægyptians. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great hast he made to returne vnto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter when it sned vnreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, & so came downe to the sea side with a small company, vnto a certaine place called Blancbovrg: which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon, and there taried for Cleopatra. And because she taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and sorow: so that he was at such a straight, that he wist not what to do, and therfore to weare it out, he gaue himselfe to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast was ended: but many times while others banquetted, he ran to the sea side to see if she were comming. At length she came, and brought with her a world of apparell and money to giue vnto the souldiers. But some say notwithstanding, that she brought apparell but no money, and that she tooke of Antonius money, and caused it to be giuen amongst the souldiers in her owne name, as if she had giuen it them. In the meane time it chanced, that the king of the Medes, and Phraortes king of the Parthians, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoiles of the Romaines: and grew to be so hot betweene them, that the king of Medes was no lesse afraid, then also in danger to lose his whole Realme. Thereupon he sent vnto Antonius, to pray him to come and make warre with the Parthians, promising him that he would aid him to his vttermost power. This put Antonius againe in good comfort, considering that vnlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he could not ouercome the Parthians,

meaning that he had not brought horsmen, and men with darts and slings inough) was offered him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the riuier of Araxes, he prepared himselfe once more to go through Armenia, and to make more cruell warre with the Parthians, then he had done before. Now whilst Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octauius his wife, whō he had left at Rome, would needs take sea to come vnto him. Her brother Octauius Cæsar was willing vnto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors do report) as for that he might haue an honest colour to make warre with Antonius if he did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she receiued letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there vntill his comming, & did aduertise her of his iourney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knew it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would haue those things sent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summes of mony and gifts, to bestow on his friends and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had 2000 souldiers chosen men, all well armed like vnto the Prætors bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whom he had sent vnto Athens, had brought these newes from his wife Octauius, & withall did greatly praise her, as she was worthy, and well deserued: Cleopatra knowing that Octauius would haue Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behauour (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loue to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: she sub-

tilly seemed to languish for the loue of Antonius, pining her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she euery way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauished for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looking rufully of the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then when he came suddenly vpon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were vnwilling that he should see her weepe. All these tricks she vsed. Antonius being in readinesse to go into Syria, to speake with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small loue in him, that would see a poore Ladie in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For, Octauia, sayd they, that was married vnto him as it were of necessity, because her brother Cæsars affaires so required it, hath the honour to be called Antonius lawful spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of so many thousands of men, is onely named Antonius Lemman, and yet that she disdained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enioy his company, & liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpossible she should liue. To be short, by these their flatteries and inticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least she would make her selfe away: he returned againe vnto Alexandria, and referred the king of Medes to the next yeare following, although he receiued newes that the Parthians at that time were at ciuill warres among themselues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his daughter which was very yong, vnto one of the sons that Cleopatra had

by him: and then returned being fully bent to make warre with Cæsar. When Octauia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commanded her to go out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, because he had abused her. Octauia answered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thing, that two so famous Captaines should bring in ciuill warres among the Romans, the one for the loue of a woman, and the other for the ieaousie betwixt one another. Now as she spake the word, so did she also performe the deed: for she kept still in Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly, and honourably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the commonwealth: she receiued thē very courteously, & so vsed her selfe vnto her brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they saw he did so vnkindly vse so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the city of Alexandria. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in dirision and contempt of the Romaines. For he assembled all the people in the shew place, where yong men do exercise themselves, and there vpon a high tribunall siluered, he set two chaires of gold, the one for himselfe, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra Queene of Ægypt, of Cyprvs,

of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, Cæsarion king of the same Realmes. This Cæsarion was supposed to be the son of Iulius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra. great with child. Secondly, he called the sons he had by her, the kings of kings, and gaue Alexander for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country: and vnto Ptolomy for his portion, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithall he brought out Alexander in a long gowne after the fashion of the Medes with a high coppe-tanke hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do vse to weare them: & Ptolomy appparelled in a cloake after the Macedonian maner, with slippers on his feet, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of Alexander the Great. So after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of Armenian souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of Macedonians the other. Now for Cleopatra, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddessse Isis, and so gaue audience vnto all her subiects, as a new Isis. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these things vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred vp all the Romaines against him. Antonius on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chieftest points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that hauing spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not giue him his part of the Ile. Secondly, that he did detaine in his hands the ships he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that hauing put Lepidus their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and hauing depriued him of all honors: he

retained for himselfe the lands and reuenewes thereof, which had bene assigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided all Italy amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. Octavius Cæsar aunswered him againe : that for Lepidus, he had in deed deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did ouer cruelly vse his authority. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should haue his part of them, so that he would likewise let him haue his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in Italie, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperour and Captaine. Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded Canidius to go presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had : and he himselfe with Cleopatra, went vnto the citie of Ephesus, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships of burthen : and of those Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thousand talents besides, and prouision of victuals also to maintaine all the whole army in this warre. So Antonius, through the perswasion of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre. But Cleopatra, fearing least Antonius should againe be made friends with Octavius Cæsar, by meanes of his wife Octauia ; she so plied Canidius with money and filled his purse, that he became her spokes-man vnto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge : neither was it for his profit, because thereby the Ægyptians would then be

vtterly discouraged, which were the chieftest strength of the army by sea : considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates, that Cleopatra was inferiour vnto, either for wisdome or iudgement, seeing that long before she had wisely gouerned so great a Realme as Ægypt ; and besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great affaires. These faire perswasions wan him : for it was predestined that the gouernement of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsars hands. Thus, all their forces being ioyned together, they hoised saile towards the Ile of Samos, and there gaue themselues to feasts and solace. For as all the Kings, Princes, and communalities, people, and cities from Syria, vnto the marishes Mæotides, & from the Armenians to Illyrians were sent vnto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could : euen so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fooles, and iesters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in euerie place was full of lamentations, sighes, and teares : onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and piping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrels, and singing-men. Besides all this, euerie citie sent an oxen thither to sacrifice, & kings did striue one with another who should make the noblest feasts, & giue the richest gifts. So that euery man sayd, What can they do more for ioy of victory, if they winne the battell ; when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre ? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Priene to keepe them withall, during the warre. Then he went vnto the city of Athens, and there gaue himselfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. Cleopatra on the other side, being

iealous of the honours which Octauia had receiued in this citie, where indeed she was marvellously honoured and beloued of the Athenians; to winne the peoples good-will also at Athens, she gaue them great gifts: and they likewise gaue her many great honors, and appointed certaine Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who (as a citizen of Athens) reported the matter vnto her, and made an Oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octauia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius children, sauing the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with his father: bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chieft causes of this ciuill war. The Romaines did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seene Cleopatra: who neither excelled Octauia in beautie, nor yet in young yeares. Octavius Cæsar vnderstanding the sudden and wonderfull great preparation of Antonius, he was not a litle astonied at it (fearing he should be driuen to fight that sommer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grieuous exactions of money did sore oppresse the people. For all manner of men else, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenew; but the Libertines (to wit, those whose fathers and other predecessours had sometime bene bond-men) were cessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon, there arose a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all Italie ouer: so that among the greatest faults that euer Antonius committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to giue Cæsar battell. For he gaue Cæsar leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demanded of them, they

grudged at it, and grew to mutiny vpon it : but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, Titus and Plancus (two of Antonius chieffest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great iniuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindred all they could, that she should not come to this warre : they went and yeelded themselves vnto Cæsar, and told him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestall Nunnes : of whom Cæsar demanded it. They answered him, that they would not giue it him : but if he would go and take it they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cæsar went thither, and hauing read it first to himselfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch : so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon diuerse were maruelously offended, and thought it a strange matter, that he being aliuie, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar tooke hold of this, that he ordained touching his buriall : for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria vnto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among diuerse other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged, for Cleopatraes sake : Caluisius, one of Cæsars friends reprocued him because he had franckly giuen Cleopatra all the Libraries of the royall city of Pergamvm, in the which she had aboute two hundred thousand seuerall bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the boord and trode vpon Cleopatraes foote, which was a signe giuen betweene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra, their soueraigne Lady: That diuerse times sitting in his

tribunall and chaire of state, giuing audience to all Kings and Princes : he had received loue letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of Onyx or Christall, & that he had read them, sitting in his Imperial seat. That one day when Furnius, a man of great account, & the eloquentest man of all the Romaines, pleaded a matter before him : Cleopatra by chaunce comming through the market place in her litter, where Furnius was a pleading : Antonius straight rose out of his seat, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Caluius deuised the most part of al these accusatiōs of his own head. Neuerthelesse they that loued Antonius were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminus vnto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminus being arriued in Grece, made Cleopatra ielialous straight of his comming: because she surmised that he came not but to speake for Octauia. Therefore she spared not to taunt him al supper time, & moreouer to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the boord : the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speak with Antonius. Now Antonius commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither : he answered, That it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morow morning fasting : but drunke or fasting, howsoeuer it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, vnless Cleopatra were sent backe into Ægypt. Antonius tooke these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, Thou doest well Geminus, sayd she, to tel the truth before thou be compelled by torments : but within few dayes after, Geminus stale away, & fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please Cleopatra, did

make her driue many other of Antonius faithfull seruants & friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries done vnto thē: among the which, these two were chiefe, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her Physitian Glaucus told him, that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had Cleopatraes displeasure, because he sayd one night at supper, that they made them drink sower wine, where Sarmentus at Rome dranke good wine of Falerna. This Sarmentus was a pleasant yong boy, such as the Lords of Rome are wont to haue about them to make pastime, which they call their ioyes, and he was Octavius Cæsars boy. Now after that Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open war against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolish the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before giuen it up vnto a woman. And Cæsar sayd furthermore, that Antonius was not maister of himselfe, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside himselfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be Mardian the Eunuch, Photinus, and Iras (a woman of Cleopatraes bed-chamber, who frizeled her haire, and dressed her head) and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire. Before this warre, it is reported, many signes and wonders fell out. First of all, the citie of Pisavrvm which was made a Colonie to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing vpon the shoare side, of the sea Adriaticke, was by a terrible earthquake sunke into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set vp in the honour of Antonius, in the citie of Alba, did sweate many dayes together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of Patras whilst Antonius were there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning.

And at the city of Athens also, in a place where the warre of the Giants against the gods, is set out in Imagerie : the statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind, was throwne downe in the Theater. It was sayd, that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you haue heard before) and in the manner of his life he followd Bacchus, and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, ouerthrew the great monstrous images at Athens, that were made in the honor of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named & intituled, The Antonians : and yet they did hurt none of the other images, which were many besides. The Admirall galley of Cleopatra was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a maruellous ill signe : Swallowes had bred vnder the poope of her ship, and there came others after them that draue away the first, and plucked downe their neasts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no lesse then 500 good ships of war, among which there were many gallies that had eight and ten banks of oares, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meet for fight, as for triumph : an hundreth thousand footmen, and 12000 horsmen, and had with him to aid him these kings and subiects following : Bocchus king of Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Silicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Comagena, & Adallas king of Thracia. All which were there euery man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies : as Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Ivry ; and furthermore, Amyntas king of Lycaonia & of the Galatians : and besides al these, he had al the aid of the king of Medes sent vnto him. Now for Cæsar, he had 250 ships of warre, 80000 footmen, and well neare as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for

his part, had all vnder his dominion from Armenia, & the riuer Euphrates, vnto the sea Ionivm & Illyricvm. Octavius Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphere, or halfe part of the world, from Illyria, vnto the Ocean sea vpon the West : then all from the Ocean, vnto mare Siculum : and from Africke, all that which is against Italy ; as Gavle, and Spaine. Furthermore, all from the province of Cyrenia, to Æthiopia, was subiect vnto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatras sake he would needs haue this battell tried by sea : though he saw before his eyes, that for lacke of water-men, his Captaines did prest by force all sorts of men out of Grece, that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, haruest-men, and young boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnish his galleys : so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant row, because they lacked water-men enough. But on the contrary side Cæsars ships were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but they were light of yarage : armed and furnished with water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readinesse, in the hauens of Tarentvm, and Brvndvsium. So Octavius Cæsar sent vnto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his armie into Italie ; and that for his owne part he would giue him safe harbour, to land without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his army from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, vntil he had put his army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side brauely sent him word againe, and chalenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder : and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Iulius Cæsar, and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Antonius

rode at anker, lying idly in harbour at the head of Actium, in the place where the citie of Nicopolis standeth at this present, Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius vnderstood that he had taken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it; And what danger I pray you, said she, if Cæsar keepe at Toryne?¹ The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of oares in battell against him, Antonius was afraid, that if they came to ioyne, they would take and cary away his ships that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water-men, and set them in order of battell vpou the fore-castell of their ships, and then lift vp all his rankes of oares towards the element; as well on the one side as on the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entrie and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of Actium: and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water-men and souldiers. Thus Octavius Cæsar being finely deceiued by this stratageme, retired presently, and therewithall Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For vnderstanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed, had very litle store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from sailing out at their pleasure, and so to go seeke water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mind. For, he being sicke of an agew when he went and tooke a litle boate to go vnto Cæsars campe, Antonius was

¹ The grace of this taunt cannot properly be expressed in any other tongue, because of the equiuocation of this word Toryne, which signifieth a city of Albania, & also a ladell to scumme the pot with: as if she meant, Cæsar sate by the fire side, scumming of the pot.

very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his cariage, traine, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gaue him to vnderstand that he repented his open treason, died immediatly after. There were certaine kings also that forsooke him, and turned on Cæsars side: as Amyntas and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleete and nauie that was vnfortunate in all things, and vnready for seruice, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battell by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his armie by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination: he turned him clean contrarie, and counselled him to send Cleopatra backe againe, and himselfe to retire into Macedon, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Cretes, promised him to aid him with a great power: and that it should be no shame or dishonour to him to let Cæsar haue the sea, because himselfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius: but rather that he should do against all reason (he hauing so great skill and experience of battels by land as he had) if he should not imploy the force and valiantnesse of so many armed footemen as he had readie, but would weaken his army by deuiding them into ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by sea: considering with herselfe how she might flie and prouide for her safety, not to helpe him to winne the victorie, but to flie more easily after the battell lost. Betwixt Antonius campe and his fleete of ships, there was a great high point of firme land that ranne a good way into the sea, the which Antonius vsed often for a walke, without mistrust of feare or danger. One of Cæsars men perceiued it, and told his maister that he would laugh, if they could take vp Antonius in the midst of his walke. Thereupon Cæsar sent some of his men to lye in ambush for him,

and they missed not much of taking him (for they tooke him that came before him) because they discovered too soone, and so Antonius scaped verie hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other ships on fire, but three-score ships of Ægypt, and reserued onely the best and greatest galleys, from three bankes, vnto ten bankes of oares. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battell, there was a Captaine, a valiant man, that had serued Antonius in many battels and conflicts, and had all his bodie hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out vnto him, and sayd: O noble Emperour, how commeth it to passe that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine, and this sword? let the Ægyptians and Phoenicians fight by sea, and set vs on the maine land, where we vse to conquer, or to be slain on our feete. Antonius passed by him and sayd neuer a word, but onely beckned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himselfe. For when the maisters of the galleys and pilots would haue let their sails alone, he made them clap them on, saying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, and the three dayes following, the sea rose so high and was so boisterous, that the battell was put off. The fift day the storme ceased, and the sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of oares in battell one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola; and Cælius the left; and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Iusteijs the midst. Octavius Cæsar on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his armie, and had kept the right wing for himselfe. For the armies by land, Canidius was Generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Cæsars side: who kept

their men in battell ray the one before the other, vpon the sea side, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: Antonius being in a swift pinnace, was carried vp and downe by force of oares through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine land, because of the steadinesse and heauinesse of their ships: and commaunded the pilots and maisters of their galleys, that they should not stirre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to receiue the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the straight of the gulfe. Cæsar betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his ships throughout: met a man by chaunce that draue an Asse before him. Cæsar asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him that his name was Eutyclus, to say Fortunate: and his Asses name Nicon, to say Conquerour. Therefore Cæsar after he had wonne the battell, setting out the market place with the spurres of the galleys he had taken, for a signe of his victory: he caused also the man & his Asse to be set vp in brasse. When he had visited the order of his army throughout, he tooke a litle pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondred when he saw his enemies lie stil in the straight, and stirred not. For decerning them a farre off, men would haue thought they had been ships riding at anker: and a good while he was so perswaded. So, he kept his galleys eight furlongs from his enemies. About noone there arose a litle gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius men waxing angry with tarying so long, and trusting to the greatnesse and height of their ships, as if they had been inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. Cæsar seeing that, was a glad man and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the straight and gulfe, to the end that he with his light ships well manned with water men,

turne and enuironne the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their bigness, as also for lacke of water-men to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to ioyned, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For on the one side, Antonius ships for their heauinesse, could not have the strength and swiftnesse to make their blowes of any force: and Cæsars ships on the other side tooke great heed, not to rush and shooke with the forecastles of Antonius ships, whose prowes were armed with great brasen spurres. Furthermore they durst not flanke them, because their points were easily broken, which way they so euer they came to set vpon his ships, that were made of grate maine square peeces of timber, bound together with great yron pins: so that the battell was much like vnto a battell by land, or to speake more properly to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Cæsars ships about one of Antonius ships, and the souldiers fought with their pikes, halbardes and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. Antonius ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood that were vpon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsars armie, to compasse in Antonius ships that fought: he was driuen also to loofe off to haue more roome, and to go a litle at one side, to those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the battell: for they were sore distressed by Antonius. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victory doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the three score ships of Cleopatra busily about their yard-masts, and hoising sale to flye. So they fled through the midst of them that were in

fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ships, and did maruellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselues wondred much to see them saile in that sort, with full saile towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius showed plainely, that he had not onely lost the courage and heart of an Emperour, but also of a valiant man, and that he was not his owne man (prouing that true which an old man spake in mirth, That the soule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne ;) he was so caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, and that she could not haue remoued without mouing of him also. For when he saw Cleopatraes ship vnder saile, he forgot, forsooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of oares, to follow her that had already begun to ouerthrow him, and would in the end be his vtter destruction. When she knew his galley a farre off, she lift vp a signe in the poepe of her ship, and so Antonius comming to it, was pluckt vp where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate downe alone in the prow of his ship, and sayd neuer a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time, came certaine light brigantines of Cæsars, that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his ship, & presently put the rest to flight: sauing one Eurycles a Lacedæmonian, that followed him neare, and pressed vpon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow as though he would haue throwne it vnto Antonius. Antonius seeing him, came to the fore-castell of his ship and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so neare? I am, answered he, Eurycles the son of Lachares: who through Cæsars good fortune seeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This Lachares was condemned of felony,

and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture vpon Antonius ship, but set vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two :) and fell vpon him with such a blow of his brasen spurre, that was so heauy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich stuffe and cariage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he returned againe to his place, & sate downe, speaking neuer a word as he did before : and so liued three days alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatraes women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there againe a great number of merchants ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this ouerthrow : who brought news, that his army by sea was ouerthrowne, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent vnto Canidius, to return with his army into Asia by Macedon. Now for himselfe, he determined to crosse ouer into Africke, and tooke one of his carects or hulkes loden with gold and siluer, and other rich cariage, & gave it vnto his friends : cōmanding them to depart, and seeke to saue themselues. They answered him, weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and louingly did comfort them, & prayed them to depart : and wrote vnto Theophilus gouernour of Corinth, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them safe in some secret place, vntill they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hypparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that reuolted from him, and yeelded vnto Cæsar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it stood with Antonius. Now for his army by sea, that fought before the

head or foreland of Activm: they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more, then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the prowes of their ships, & yet with much ado, his nauie was at length ouerthrowne, fīue houres within night. There were not slaine aboue fīue thousand men: but yet there were three hundreth ships taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth himselfe in his Commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius flie, and yet could very hardly belieue it, that he that had nineteene legions whole by land, and twelue thousand horsemen vpon the sea side, would so haue forsaken them, and haue fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene thoroughly acquainted with the diuerse changes and fortunes of battels. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and euer hoped that he would come by some means or other vnto them. Furthermore, they shewed themselues so valiant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled, they kept themselues whole together seuen dayes. In the end Canidius, Antonius Lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe, when they saw themselues thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yeelded themselues vnto the stronger. This done, Cæsar sailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and deuided the rest of the corne that was taken vp for Antonius army, vnto the townes and cities of Grece, the which had bene brought to extreame misery and pouerty, cleane without mony, slaues, horse, & other beasts of cariage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus told, that all the citizens of our city of Chæronea (not one excepted) were driuen themselues to cary a certaine measure of corne on their shoulders to the sea side, that lieth directly ouer against the Ile of Anticyra, & yet were they driven thither with whips. They caried it thus but once:

for the second time that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that Antonius had lost the battell, and so scaped our poore city. For Antonius souldiers and deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongst them. Antonius being arriued in Lybia, he sent Cleopatra before into Ægypt from the city of Parætonivm: & he himselfe remained very solitary, hauing only two of his friends with him, with whom he wandred vp and downe, both of them Orators, the one Aristocrates a Grecian, & the other Lucilius a Romaine: of whom we haue written in another place, that at the battell where Brutus was ouerthrowne, by the city of Philippes, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: because Brutus in the meane time might haue liberty to saue himselfe. And afterwards, because Antonius saued his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull & friendly vnto him till his death. But when Antonius heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of Lybia, and vnto whom he had giuen the charge of his army there, had yeelded vnto Cæsar: he was so madde withall, that he would haue slaine himselfe for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, & kept him from it. So he went vnto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red sea, and the sea betweene the lands that point vpon the coast of Ægypt, there is a litle piece of land that deuideth both the seas, and separateth Africke from Asia: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not aboue three hundreth furlongs ouer. Cleopatra went about to lift her ships out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her ships were

come into the gulfe of Arabia, she might then carie all her gold and siluer away, and so with a great companie of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea, farre from the sea Mediterraneum, to scape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, because the Arabians dwelling about the citie of Petra, did burne the first shippes that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought, that his armie by land which he left at Activm was yet whole : she left off her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the ports and passages of her realme. Antonius, he forsooke the citie and companie of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of Pharos, vpon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himself from all mens companie : saying that he would leade Timons life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered vnto Timon : and that for the vnthankfulnesse of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was angrie with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that liued about the war of Peloponnesvs, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes comedies : in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man vnto mankind, to shun all other mens companies, but the companie of young Alcibiades, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others : Timon answered him, I do it, said he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief vnto the Athenians. This Timon somtimes would haue Apemantus in his companie, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly cele-

brated the feasts called Choæ at Athens (to wit, the feasts of the dead where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead), and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus said vnto the other: O here is a trim banquet Timon. Timon answered againe: Yea, said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp into the pulpit for Orations, where the Oratours commonly vse to speake vnto the people: and silence being made, euery man listening to heare what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this manner: My Lords of Athens, I haue a litle yard at my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hanged themselves: and because I meane to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate; you may there in time go hang your selues. He died in the citie of Hales, and was buried vpon the sea side. Now it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and vpon the same was written this Epitaph:

*Here lyes a wretched corse, of wretched soule bereft:
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches
left.*

It is reported that Timon himselfe, when he liued, made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed, was not his, but made by the Poet Callimachus:

*Here lye I Timon, who aliuie all liuing men did hate:
Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here
thy gate.*

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this litle shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to Antonius againe. Canidius himselfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at Activm : on the other side he was aduertised also, that Herodes king of Ivrie, who had also certaine legions and bands with him, was reuolted vnto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like maner : so that, sauing those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him : and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so to be rid of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitarie house he had built by the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopatra receiued him into her royall palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the citie on rioting & banquetting againe, and himselfe to liberalitie and gifts. He caused the sonne of Iulius Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romaines) amongst the number of young men : and gaue Antyllus, his eldest son he had by Fulua, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne without gard or embroderie, of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, bāquetting & dancing in Alexandria many daies together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, No life comparable) and did set vp another, which they called Synapothanumenon, (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnesse and cost was not inferiour to the first. For their friends made themselues to be inrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another : for euery man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole company and fraternitie. Cleopatra in the meane time was very carefull in gathering

all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now to make prooue of those poisons which made men die with least paine, she tried it vpon condemned men in prison. For when she sawe the poisons that were sodaine and vehement, & brought speedie death with grievous torments : and in contrarie manner, that such as were more mild and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one die sodainely : she afterwards went about to proue the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applyed vnto men in her sight, some in one sort, some in another. So when she had daily made diuerse and sundry proofes, she found none of them all she had proued so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke : the which causeth only a heauinesse of the head, without swooning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle sweat in the face ; and so by litle and litle taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the patients feelee any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie awaketh them, and taketh them vp : as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heauie and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors vnto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realme of Ægypt for their children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to liue at Athens like a priuate man, if Cæsar would not let him remaine in Ægypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them : they were inforced to send Euphronius the schoole-miaster of their children. For Alexas Laodician, who was brought into Antonius house and fauour by meanes of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credite with him, then any other Grecian (for that he had euer bene one of Cleopatraes ministers to win Antonius, and to ouerthrow all his good determina-

tions to vse his wife Octauia well :) him Antonius had sent vnto Herodes king of Iurie, hoping still to keepe him his friend, that he should not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should haue kept Herodes from reuolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to Cæsar : and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsars presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure : for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his owne country, and there by Cæsars commandement put to death. Thus was Alexas in Antonius life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cæsar wold not grant vnto Antonius requests : but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or driue him out of her country. Therwithall he sent Thyreus one of his men vnto her, a very wise and discreet man : who bringing letters of credite from a young Lord vnto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beautie, might easily by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honour : insomuch as he made Antonius ielous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well fauouredly whipped, and so sent him vnto Cæsar : and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, because he shewed himselfe proud and disdainefull towards him ; and now specially, when he was easie to be angred, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee (said he) thou hast Hipparchus one of my infranchised bondmen with thee : hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittance. From hencefoorth Cleopatra, to clear her selfe of the suspicion he had of her, made more of him then euer she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day

of her birth very meanelly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune : she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence : so that the guests were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Now things passing thus, Agrippa by diuers letters sent one after another vnto Cæsar, prayed him to returne to Rome, because the affaires there did of necessity require his person & presence. Therupon he did defer the war till the next yearē following : but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africk, to make wars against Antonius, and his other Captains. When the citie of Pelvsivm was taken, there ran a rumour in the citie, that Seleucus, (by Cleopatraes consent) had surrendred the same. But to cleare her selfe that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus wife and children vnto Antonius, to be reuenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monuments, as well for excellencie of workemanship, as for height and greatnesse of building, ioyning hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the auncient Kings her predecessours : as gold, siluer, emeralds, pearles, ebonie, yuorie, and cynamon, and besides all that, a maruellous number of torches, fag-gots, and flaxe. So Octavius Cæsar being affraid to lose such a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it a fire, and burne it euery whit : he alwaies sent some one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meane time drew neare the citie with his armie. So Cæsar came and pitched his camp hard by the citie, in the place where they runne and mannage their horses. Antonius made a sallie vpon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he draue Cæsars horse-

men backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra to reward his manlinesse, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent againe to challenge Cæsar, to fight with him hand to hand. Cæsar answered him, That he had many other wayes to die then so. Then Antonius seeing there was no way more honorable for him to die, then fighting valiantly: he determined to set vp his rest, both by sea and land. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his Officers and houshold seruants that waited on him at his boord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall do so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serue another maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiuing that his friends and men fell a weeping to heare him say so: to salue that he had spoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not lead them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valiantly to die with honour. Furthermore, the selfe same night within a litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this warre: it is said, that sodainly they heard a maruellously sweet harmonie of sundry sorts of instruments of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had sung as they vse in Bacchus feasts, with mouings and turnings after the manner of the Satyres: and it seemed, that this daunce went

through the citie vnto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the citie at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god vnto whom Antonius bare singular deuotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order vpon the hils adioyning vnto the citie: and there he stood to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed against the gallies of his enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploit his soldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neare vnto them, they first saluted Cæsars men; and then Cæsars men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one: and then did altogether row toward the citie. When Antonius saw his men did forsake him, and yeelded vnto Cæsar, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowne: he then fled into the citie, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her sake. Then she being affraid of his furie, fled into the tombe which she had caused to be made, and there she locked the doores vnto her, and shut all the springs of the lockes with great bolts, and in the meane time sent vnto Antonius to tell him, that she was dead. Antonius beleeuing it, said vnto himself: What doest thou looke for further, Antonius, sith spitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only ioy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reseruedst thy life. When he had said these words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed himself, & being naked, said thus: O Cleopatra, it griueth nie not that I haue lost thy company, for I will not be long frō thee: but I am sory, that hauing bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am indeed condemned to be iudged of lesse courage and noble mind,

then a woman. Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loued and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to sweare vnto him, that he should kill him when he did commaund him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise. His man drawing his sword, lift it vp as though he had meant to haue striken his master: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himselfe, and fell downe dead at his masters foote. Then said Antonius: ô noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to my selfe, which thou couldest not do for me. Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wound he had, killed him not presently, for the bloud stinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came somewhat to himselfe againe, he prayed them that were about him, to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting himselfe: vntill at last there came a Secretarie vnto him (called Diomedes) who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was aliue, he very earnestly prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleopatra her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trised Antonius vp. They that were present to behold it, said they neuer saw so pitifull a sight. For they plucked vp poore Antonius all bloudie as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death: who holding vp his hands to Cleopatra, raised vp himselfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these

women to do, to lift him vp : but Cleopatra stooping downe with her head, putting too all her strength to her vttermost power, did lift him vp with much ado, and neuer let go her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, and were as sory to see her labour so, as she herselfe. So when she had gotten him in after this sort, and laid him on a bed : she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomacke. Then she dried vp his bloud that had betrayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperor, forgetting her own miserie and calamitie, for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seek to saue her life, if she could possible, without reproch and dishonour : and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius aboue any man else about Cæsar. And as for himselfe, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes : but rather that she should think him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had receiued ; considering that while he liued, he was the noblest & greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romaine by another Romaine. As Antonius gaue the last gaspe, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar. For after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard (called Dercetæus) took his sword with the which he had stricken himselfe, and hid it : then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first newes of his death, & shewed him his sword that was bloudied. Cæsar hearing

these newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his friend and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all iust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra aliue, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her aliue to Rome, she would maruellously beautifie and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would neuer put her selfe into Proculeius hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes, through which her voice might be heard, and so they without vnderstood, that Cleopatra demaunded the kingdom of Ægypt for her sonnes: and that Proculeius answered her, That she should be of good cheare, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer vnto Cæsar: who immediatly sent Gallus to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest Proculeius did set vp a ladder against that high window, by the which Antonius was trised vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stood to heare what Gallus sayd vnto her. One of her women which was shut vp in her monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chance as he came downe, and shreeked out: O poore

Cleopatra, thou art taken. Then when she sawe Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to haue stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came sodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the handes, said vnto her : Cleopatra, first, thou shalt do thy selfe great wrong, and secondly, unto Cæsar, to depriue him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to giue his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruell and mercilesse man, that were not to be trusted. So euen as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwards, Cæsar sent one of his infranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to look well vnto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away : and for the rest, to use her with all the courtesie possible. And for himselfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of Alexandria, and (as he went) talked with the Philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reuerence him the more, because they sawe Cæsar so highly esteeme and honour him. Then he went into the shew-place of exercises, and so vp to his chaire of state which was prepared for him of a great height : and there according to his commaundement, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. Cæsar bad them all stand vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was Alexander the Great : secondly, for the beautie of the citie, which he much esteemed

and wondred at : thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his very friend Arrius. Thus did Cæsar honour Arrius, who craued pardon for himselfe and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the Sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech : howbeit, he falsely named himselfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore Cæsar that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in long mourning gowne, still buzzing in his eares this Greeke verse :

*A wise man, if that he be wise indeed,
May by a wise man haue the better speed.*

Cæsar vnderstanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his feare, as to ridde Arrius of malice and enuie that might haue fallen out against him ; he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius sonnes, Antyllus, his eldest sonne by Fulnia was slaine, because his schoolemaster Theodorus did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake off his head. And the villaine tooke a precious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sow in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it : but it was found about him, and so Cæsar trussed him vp for it. For Cleopatraes children, they were very honourably kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for Cæsarion, who was said to be Iulius Cæsars sonne : his mother Cleopatra had sent him vnto the Indians through Æthiopia, with a great summe of money. But one of his gouernors also called Rhodon, euen such another as Theodorus, perswaded him to returne into his countrey, and told him that Cæsar sent for him to giue him his mothers kingdome. So, as Cæsar was determining with himselfe what he should do, Arrius said vnto him :

Too many Cæsars is not good.

Alluding vnto a certaine verse of Homer, that saith :

Too many Lords doth not well.

Therefore Cæsar did put Cæsarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many Princes, great Kings and Captaines did craue Antonius bodie of Octavius Cæsar, to giue him honourable buriall : but Cæsar would neuer take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne hands, whom Cæsar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow vpon his funerals. Now was she altogether ouercome with sorow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her brest so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in diuers places had raised vlcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a feauer withall : whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to abstaine from meat, and that so she might haue died easily without any trouble. She had a Phisitian called Olympus, whom she made priuy of her intent, to the end he should helpe to rid her out of her life : as Olympus writeth himselfe, who wrote a booke of all these things. But Cæsar mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatned to put her children to shamefull death. With these threatnes, Cleopatra for feare yeelded straight, as she would haue yeelded vnto strokes : and afterwards suffered her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Cæsar came himselfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore estate (when she saw Cæsar come into her chamber,) sodainly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feet maruellously disfigured : both for that she had plucked her haire from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nailes ; and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunke into her head

with continuall blubbering ; & moreouer, they might see the most part of her stomacke torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her mind : yet her good grace and comlinesse, and the force of her beautie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this vgly and pitifull state of her, yet she shewed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lie downe againe, and sate by her beds side : Cleopatra began to cleare and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of Antonius : Cæsar in contrarie manner, reprobued her in euery point. Then she sodainely altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she was affrayed to dye, and desirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a brieft and memoriall of all the readie money and treasure she had. But by chaunce there stode Seleucus by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good seruant, came straight to Cæsar to disproue Cleopatra, that shee had not set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew vpon him, and tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him well fauouredly. Cæsar fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, ô Cæsar : is not this a great shame and reproch, that thou hauing vouchsafed to take the paines to come vnto me, and done me this honor, poore wretch, and caitife creature, brought into this pitifull and miserable state : and that mine owne seruants should come now to accuse me, though it may be I haue reserued some iewels and trifles meete for womē, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to giue some pretie presents vnto Octauia and Liuia, that they making meanes and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me ? Cæsar was glad to heare her say so, perswading himselfe

thereby that she had yet a desire to saue her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only giue her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to vse her more honourably and bountifully, then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leaue of her, supposing he had deceiued her, but indeed he was deceiued himselfe. There was a young Gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsars very great familiars, and besides did beare no ill will vnto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly (as she had requested him) that Cæsar determined to take his iourney through Syria, and that within three daies he would send her away before with her children. When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, vnto the soule of Antonius. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, embracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: O my deare Lord Antonius, it is not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: & now I offer thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captiue and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully guard and keepe, onely to triumph of thee: looke therfore hencefoorth for no other honors, offerings, nor sacrifices from me: for these are the last which Cleopatra can giue thee, sith now they carie her away. Whilest we liued together, nothing could seuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our countries. For as thou being a Romaine, hast bene buried in Ægypt: euen so wretched creature I an Ægyptian, shall be buried in Italie, which shall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy country. If therefore the

gods where thou art now haue any power and authority, sith our gods here haue forsaken vs : suffer not thy true frieud and loue to be caried away aline, that in me they triumph of thee : but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinit, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall, then this small time which I haue bene driuen to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundrie nosegayes, and meruelous louingly embraced the same : she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously serued. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a countriman and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened his basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he bought. They all of them maruelled to see so goodly figges. The countriman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleeeued he told him truly, and so bad him carie them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed vnto Cæsar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shut the doores to her. Cæsar when he receiued this table, and began to reade her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to haue gone thither himselfe : howbeit, he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine : for those whom Cæsar sent vnto her, ran thither in all hast possible, and found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor

vnderstanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found Cleopatra starke dead, laid vpon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman (called Charmion) halfe dead, & trembling, trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra wore vpon her head. One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said vnto her: Is that well done Charmion? Very well, said she againe, and meete for a Princesse descended from the race of so many noble Kings: she said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report, that this Aspicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs; and that he had commanded them to hide it vnder the fig leaues, that when she should thinke to take out the figs, the Aspicke should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she wold haue taken away the leaues for the figs, she perceiued it, and said, Art thou here then? And so her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did pricke and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspicke being angred withall, leapt out with great furie, and bit her in the arme. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow razor which she caried in the haire of her head; and yet was there no marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tombe: but it was reported onely, that there was seene certaine fresh steppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the doore side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bitings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Cæsar himselfe gaue credit vnto, because in his triumph he caried Cleopatraes image, with an Aspicke biting of her arme.

And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was maruellous sorie for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondred at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commaunded she should be nobly buried, and layed by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should haue honourable buriall. Cleopatra died being eight and thirtie yeares old, after she had raigned two and twentie years, and gouerned aboue fourteene of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he liued three and fiftie yeares: and others say, sixe and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and ouerthrowne, sauing those of Cleopatra which stode still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gaue Cæsar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seuen children by three wiues, of the which, Cæsar did put Antyllus (the eldest son he had by Fulua) to death. Octauia his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them vp with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius daughter, vnto king Iuba, a maruellous courteous & goodly Prince. And Antonius (the son of Fulua) came to be so great, that next vnto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Cæsar; and next unto the children of Liuia, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octauia hauing had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, & a son also called Marcellus: Cæsar married his daughter vnto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octauia also married one of her daughters vnto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had bene married awhile, Octauia perceiuing that her brother Cæsar was very busie to chuse some one among his friends, whom he trusted best to make his sonne in law: she persuaded him, that Agrippa should marie his daughter (Marcellus widow) and

leauē her owne daughter. Cæsar first was contented withall, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and married her vnto Antonius; & Agrippa married Iulia, Cæsars daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octauia and Antonius: Domitius Ænobarbus married the one; and the other, which was Antonia, so faire and vertuous a young Ladie, was married vnto Drusus the sonne of Liuia, and sonne in law of Cæsar. Of this mariage, came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the sonnes of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius, came also to be Emperour: who after he had licentiouslly reigned a time, was slaine, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also (hauing a sonne by her first husband Ænobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards married vnto Clodius, who adopted her sonne, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperour in our time, who slue his owne mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnesse and wicked life, being the fifth Emperour of Rome after Antonius.

END OF VOL. III.





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